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A black and white photograph of a landscape. In the foreground, there are several tall, thin trees with bare branches, some of which are in sharp focus. The background shows a body of water, possibly a lake or a wide river, with a dark, forested shoreline in the distance. The sky is light and overcast. The overall mood is serene and natural.

ANNALS OF WYOMING

Volume 58, No. 1 Spring, 1986

THE WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT

The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration. The State Historic Preservation Office is also located in the Department.

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ABOUT THE COVER—This photograph of the Tetons was made by Joseph E. Stimson, an individual whose career spanned more than fifty years. Stimson, under the patronage of the Union Pacific Railroad captured much of Wyoming's history in a period of intense and rapid transition. His efforts resulted in a collection of more than 7,500 glass plate and nitrate negatives. They are now part of the Department's research collections. While Stimson sedulously recorded man's imprint on Wyoming, he found time for many beautiful scenic photographs. The Tetons were a favorite subject of his, and prints of them were used by the Union Pacific in promotional literature.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 58, No. 1
Spring, 1986

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ANNALS OF WYOMING is published biannually in the Spring and Fall by the Wyoming State Press. It is received by all members of the Wyoming State Historical Society as the official publication of that organization. Copies of previous and current issues may be purchased from the Editor. Correspondence should be addressed to the Editor. Published articles represent the views of the author and are not necessarily those of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department or the Wyoming State Historical Society. ANNALS OF WYOMING articles are abstracted in Historical Abstracts, America: History and Life.

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MEMORIES of an OIL FIELD

ALL PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE AUTHOR



Grass Creek Dome, called Midwest until 1923¹, is one of the most important oil structures of the Rocky Mountain fields. It is located in the southwest part of the Big Horn Basin. The Big Horn Mountains are on the east, the Owl Creek Mountains on the south and the Absaroka Range on the west.

In June, 1914, light paraffin oil was discovered in the frontier sand, and the early development was confined to this strata. In 1922, a well drilled in the Embar-Tensleep (Pennsylvania) produced a heavy asphaltic gravity oil.

The early oil men who fronted the oil industry were not all college men. Among the outstanding pioneers was a man named Jack McFadden. He was a hard working Scot who had gained early experience as a roustabout, tool dresser, pumper, carpenter and blacksmith in an Ontario, Canada oilfield, and later worked for the Ohio Oil Company.

He was hired by James Donnell to put out a grass fire that was threatening a pump station in Randolph, Ohio. He was a young man with much determination; he was a workaholic who wanted to work night and day seven days a week and was capable of performing any job designated him.

In 1912, Donnell turned his attention toward Wyoming as the media was full of news about the oil strikes there. Uncle Jack McFadden, as he was affectionately called by the people who worked with him, was sent to Wyoming

to file oil placer claims with the Federal Government. Uncle Jack secured the claims for the Ohio Oil Company in 1913 and brought in his first oil well in 1914 with a cable tool rig. By the end of 1914, he had brought in eleven wells which cost the company \$129,123.

Most of the early wells were completed in 60 days. The drill pipe which was brought in by mule team from the railroad in Kirby exceeded the \$3.00 per ft. drilling cost.

In 1918, my father, George McCrady, who worked for the Ohio Oil Company in Indiana, came to Wyoming for my mother's health. They came by stage to Grass Creek from Thermopolis, Wyoming. He said he thought it was the most desolate place in the world; he vowed he would stay one year. Instead he came as a driller and 29 years later retired in 1947 as superintendent of the Grass Creek field. He was also instrumental in the early development of the Buffalo Basin and Oregon Basin fields.

Many of the early oil workers came from the Midwest and East. They were very interested in education so early schools became an important goal. The first school known in Grass Creek was held in a sheep wagon in 1915. Miss Mary Herring was the teacher. She taught the youngest students in the morning and the older students in the afternoon.

Two years later, the sheep wagon was replaced by a small frame building; Miss Alma Murphy was the teacher. In 1919, more room was needed and a two-room building

by Elizabeth Nuhn



was erected. Grades from one to nine were taught. In 1920, the school was destroyed by fire, and school was held for the rest of the year in the basement of the Ohio Oil Company Amusement Hall. In 1921, a four-room school house was built to hold 100 students who would attend school. It was modern in every way except for gas lights. In 1922, the district established bus routes for the students.

In 1932, Mrs. Katharine A. Morton, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, came to present the first Superior plaque in the state of Wyoming to the school. Some of the school board members who promoted education were Mrs. Marie Francis, J. S. Henry, Burr Farr, E.D. St. Clair and George McCrady.

The oil industry slackened in 1942, and the staff was reduced to two. In 1951, another oil boom hit and in 1952, a new classroom, a lunch room and gymnasium were added. The new gymnasium was dedicated in memory of K. O. Cameron, an ardent educator. In 1960, four modern brick teacherages were built. In the remodeled basement were added showers, a science room and a library. Again enrollment started to decline and all students were bused to Thermopolis. Today, the teacherages are rented to people living in the area. The school house is closed and no longer used.

Teachers who were outstanding in teaching basic academics were Miss Leona Flint, Miss Irene Orr, Miss Lula Lang, Miss Dora Bender, Mr. and Mrs. Mann, Mr. and

Mrs. Holcomb and Miss Baird.

When the first people came to Grass Creek, many lived in tents. The Ohio Oil Company under the supervision of Jack McFadden soon hired carpenters, and houses were built. The cookhouse was one of the most important buildings to be built. Many single men and married men who had not brought their families, because there were no houses, came to work. The first cookhouse was built on the north side of the dirt hill called the Hogs Back. The second cookhouse was built in 1925 on the opposite side of the hill. The cooks fed as many as 500 men per day at one time. In 1925, a washroom and bathhouse were located close to the cookhouse. Later a four room modern guest house was built for Ohio Company officials who visited the camp.

In 1921, bunk houses were added to the area near the cookhouse. Single men and some married men, whose families had not found housing, ate at the cookhouse and slept in the bunkhouses that were maintained by the service of the workers at the cookhouse.

In 1922, a murder occurred in Grass Creek that involved my father, George McCrady, in the trial. On May 7, 1922, a bunkhouse was blown up, and Harry Foight and W. C. Seaton were killed. Albert (Bert) Lampitt had been dating Grace Lee who was employed as a waitress at the cookhouse. She later became engaged to Harry Foight. Bert Lampitt became jealous. My dad was the driller of a well

in Grass Creek at this time. Harry Foight was his tool dresser. My dad said that Bert Lampitt came to the well in the afternoon and quarreled with Harry Foight.

My dad said to Lampitt, "Bert, this is no place to fight. We are on company time. Solve your problems after hours."

Bert left and did not return. That night explosives were placed near the corner of the bunkhouse where Harry Foight slept. Footprints of a man leading from the building to a shack occupied by Lampitt were found. Also tracks of his car were traced from his shack to the oil company's magazine where explosives were taken. Albert Lampitt was convicted of the murder of Harry Foight on February 17, 1923, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The Ohio Oil Company's gas plant began its operation in 1918. A three inch pipeline conveyed the natural gasoline product to Chatham. Wet gasoline was taken from both the Ohio Oil Company and the Standolind Oil Company; each had its own vacuum line system. People who lived in the camp were always afraid the plant would catch on fire. Once this did happen, and several men were severely burned.



The Cook House Boasted a Commodious Veranda

Mr. Burr Farr was superintendent of the gasoline plant. Some of the employees were Lloyd Huff, John Weland, Roy Huff, Elmer Wasllingford, Blakesly, Billy Reed, Ed Reed, Jack McGeth, Tommy Malone, Edgar Williams, George Dustin, Ralph Close, Walt Armstrong, Ralph Greason and Gerald Smotherman.

In the early days the wells were not capped and would gush into the sky like a geyser when they were brought in. I remember my dad telling my mother at what time a well they were drilling about one-fourth mile from our house would gush. At the designated time she gathered us to the window to watch this event. It was like seeing a geyser for the first time. The black oil sprayed up-up-and up, and the wind carried the oil and left a fine mist

on our window. I can still recall the event vividly in my mind today; it was a beautiful picture.

We had several doctors in Grass Creek. The first was Dr. Thomas who was very old. He was a short plump man who carried peppermints in his coat pocket for the children of the families that he visited.

The next doctor was Dr. Wilson who came after the hospital was built. He was a good doctor, a rather tall handsome man who only stayed for a short time.

The next was Dr. Taylor. He was also a very good doctor who could diagnose his cases even though he had too much to drink.

The people who lived in Grass Creek in the early years had no televisions, but they enjoyed a rich community life. From the beginning of the community there were dances at the Community Hall every Saturday night. Families would come and bring their children. When the children became sleepy, they would make a bed for them on chairs or benches in the balcony. At midnight, everyone would go to the basement of the hall where the ladies had brought sandwiches, pickles and cakes. Hot coffee was made and everyone enjoyed the midnight snack.

There were also box socials; the ladies would fix lunch boxes and decorate them beautifully; then they would fill them with the most delicious foods that they could make. They would be raffled off to the highest bidder. Competing boyfriends really soared the prices on the bidding.

Also, when couples were married, everyone came to their house after they had gone to bed, got them up and took them to the amusement hall where they held a dance in their honor. I was only about four when I remember attending my first shivaree. I remember sitting on my dad's lap as he buttoned my high top shoes. Then he bundled me up and with my mother, sister and brother and drove a mile to Lloyd Robbins' house in an old Model T. It was pitch dark and people were beating on pans and making

The First
Class Met
in a
Sheep Wagon



A 1928
School Bus

The Grass Creek
School House,
Built in 1917



a lot of noise. Out of the dark came the bride and groom who were put on the back of a truck and taken to the Community Hall for a dance.

The first dance band came from Gebo, but soon the people of Grass Creek were forming their own bands. Those who played in the dance bands through the years were: Ermon and Lois Farr, Darrell Oliver, Oscar Snyder, John McCrady, Phil McClure, Mrs. Blair, Alma Robbins and Walter Henrichs.

Holidays were always special days. Because many people were from the Midwest and East and had no close relatives, families would get together for family dinners. My mother, Kathryn McCrady, was an Indiana farm girl who was a fabulous cook. She always invited four or five families for dinner. The grown-ups ate in the dining room and the children in the kitchen. Everyone, after eating and visiting all afternoon, attended the holiday dance.



A Wooden Oil Rig

During the summer, families would get together and go on picnics. Each family would bring what they had. The picnics were fun and the food was always delicious and plentiful.

The kids in Grass Creek never had a dull moment. There were always a million things to do. They created their own fun. The Robbins were generous with their horses, and kids would ride up Grass Creek, Enos Creek and once in a while to the Dickie ranch where the cook rewarded them with a donut. They could ice skate on the creek in the winter and wade barefoot during the summer. There were lots of places to go sledding. The rim rocks to the north and south were wonderful places to hike and burn weenies and marshmallows. There was a motion pic-

ture once a week at the Community Hall. There were sewing clubs and scouting trips.

There was a tennis court that was built in 1929 and one of the best miniature golf courses in the state was built by Jack Francis. With such good tennis players as Marie and Jack Francis and Zeke Lewis most of the kids in Grass Creek learned the basics of tennis and miniature golf.

Sunday School was held in the schoolhouse. People danced late on Saturday night, but getting to Sunday School was a must with most families.

One of the homes in Grass Creek where kids had the most fun was the Ralph Robbins' home. Mr. Robbins was the biggest kid of all and had the heartiest laugh. Mrs. Robbins was a good sport and always jolly. We used to play Blind Man's Bluff and were sometimes quite rowdy, but never did they complain. We sang songs to their player piano and Mr. Robbins taught all of us to polka. They ran the dairy and made ice cream almost every day. When the strawberries were in season, we had strawberry ice cream, and when the peaches were in season, we ate peach ice cream. They also made yummy fudge, caramel, strawberry toppings and always delicious cakes. They had an ice house where they stored their own cakes of ice, and always on their table was a pitcher of ice cold milk. There is no place in the world today that could compare with the fun times that we had at the Robbins' ranch.

Fourth of July's were seeing who could get up the earliest to set off firecrackers under a friend's window. Also the fireworks display from the dirt hill was unique. The trips to the Cody Stampede were memorable. Early trips to Yellowstone National Park in a Model T were events that most people will not forget. The narrow road up Shoshone Canyon was scary, especially when two cars met and one would have to back until the two cars could pass.

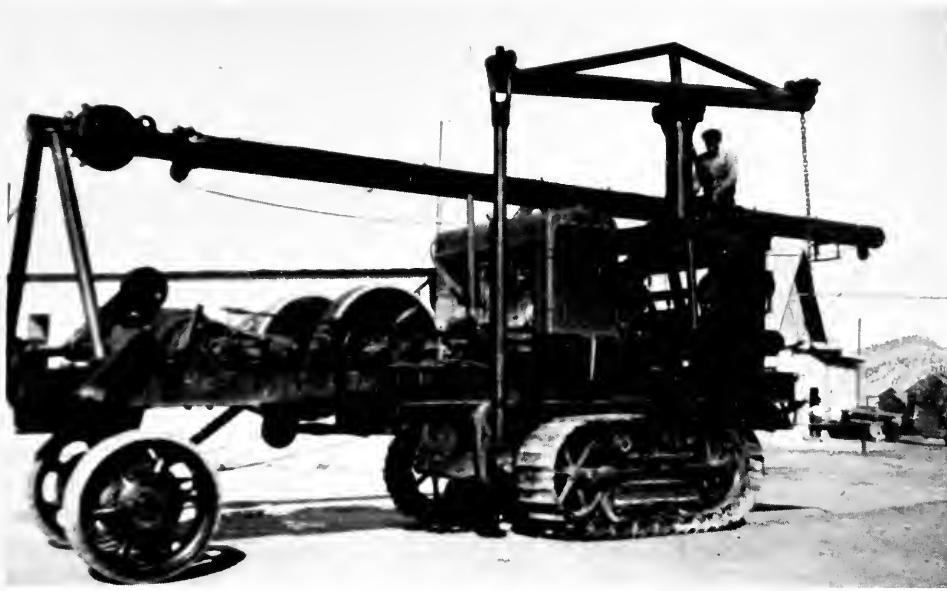
Fishing was a sport most people enjoyed; the streams were never crowded and the catch was always good. Most people hunted sage chickens, deer, elk and moose in season and usually were successful.

After World War II, everything changed. The people chose to commute to Grass Creek from Cody, Meeteetse and Thermopolis. The company houses were sold and moved.

Today, the garage and office still remain, but the houses are gone and only a few families live there. The trees and lawns of the once picturesque camp hold equipment and stacks of pipes. But as far as the eye can see in all directions are grasshopper wells still pumping away and new wells are still being drilled.

Gone is the hustling bustling camp of the early days. Only memories of those who lived there know how wonderful community life once was in this small oil field of Grass Creek.

¹ Midwest was changed to Grass Creek in 1923 because there were other towns in Wyoming called Midwest and the mail was always getting sent to the wrong Midwest.



An Oil Well
Cleaner

A Truck Manufactured by
the White Company



The
Gasoline
Plant

*VOICE
IN THE
WILDERNESS*

*H. V. Rominger
and the
SOCIAL GOSPEL
in the WEST*

*by
William H. Moore*

Virtually all students of American progressivism concede the importance of the new "social gospel" in animating early 20th century social and economic reform. Sensing a widespread disaffection with the Church and concerned about the disruptive impact of industrialization, immigration and urbanization, a variety of Protestant ministers called upon clergymen to reexamine scriptural mandates, to commit the Church to an activist role in combatting the dehumanizing forces in the country, and to help shape a just and moral society. A range of personalities and interests typified the Social Gospel. The Rev. Charles Parkhurst in New York, campaigned against vice and municipal corruption; the Rev. Washington Gladden in Columbus, Ohio, sought to mediate labor-management conflicts; and the "Christian Socialist" Walter Rauschenbusch of Rochester Theological Seminary pointed to the contradictions between capitalism and Christianity.¹

Despite its importance to national progressivism, scholars know little about the dynamics of the Social Gospel in the hinterland. Almost all our studies to date have focused on the celebrated eastern ministers who engaged the problems of industrialization and the big city. Clearly, however, ministers trained in Social Gospel seminaries in the East made their way into the interior of the country where they faced a variety of problems.² While historians are far from any systematic understanding of Social Gospel activists in the West, the experiences of one clergyman, H. V. Rominger, do suggest some of the frustrations and limitations such men encountered.

Henry Virgil Rominger was born in Forsyth County, North Carolina, in 1854. During the Civil War, his father died of disease while serving in the Confederate army. Possibly prompted by his earlier pacifism as well as his German family heritage, Rominger enrolled in Moravian College and Moravian Theological Seminary in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from 1875 to 1877. There he developed a lifelong admiration for the heretic John Huss, the founder of the Moravian movement.³

Rominger's confrontational stance toward the Church, however, seems to have been most influenced by the faculty of Union Theological Seminary in New York which he attended in 1877 and 1878. Through Roswell D. Hitchcock, professor of Church History, he became convinced that the historical church had departed fundamentally from the teachings of Christ. Once considered a radical, Hitchcock was working on his controversial book *Socialism* (1879) at the time Rominger was studying at Union. Hitchcock recoiled in horror at most forms of secular socialism, especially the "mad communism" of the Paris Commune. Even labor unions, government intervention and popular democracy threatened to loosen upon society a measure

of anarchy that would ultimately debase and devour the individual. Contrary to the teachings of socialism and communism, Hitchcock insisted that *individual* and *Church* regeneration must precede genuine *social* reconstruction. A rejuvenated, primitive Christian character would transform society far more successfully than artificial statist ideologies, he argued. The impressionable Rominger applauded Hitchcock's contention that the great need of the day was "the rechristianization of Christendom," the purification of individual conscience and the reaffirmation of early Christian zealotry against social ills and evils. While Hitchcock's immediate impact was conservative, his call for a long-term Church-led transformation of society clearly influenced the young Rominger.⁴

If Hitchcock called for a return to the primitive Church, Rominger's real hero at Union, Charles Augustus Briggs, professor of Old Testament studies, provided a scathing condemnation of contemporary Christianity. Briggs argued that the Church had become an agent of capitalist society, that it had fragmented into narrow and impotent denominationalism and that it had forgotten Christ's social message. "If Christ came to New York and preached in Wall Street as he did in Galilee," Rominger remembered Briggs observing, "we would crucify him in three days."⁵

"Even labor unions, government intervention and popular democracy threatened to loosen upon society a measure of anarchy that would ultimately debase and devour the individual."

After a year of teaching in Germany, Rominger, in 1880, began a two year course of study in theology and philosophy at the University of Berlin. He worked with several highly regarded theologians, especially J. H. W. Stuckenberg. A liberal theologian and inexhaustible writer, Stuckenberg called for a "Christian sociology"—for a systematic attempt to apply New Testament principles to all social issues. More emphatically than Hitchcock, Stuckenberg condemned the attempts of social theorists to separate morality and religion. The Church should, he insisted, avoid compromising with political pragmatists on issues involving essential elements of Christ's teachings. Rominger thrilled to Stuckenberg's call for Christian activism, and he reveled in the intense atmosphere of theological debate and history in Berlin. He remembered witnessing the wedding procession of Prince Wilhelm (later Kaiser Wilhelm II) in 1881 and gloried in the libraries, museums and galleries of the city.⁶



Laramie, as it would have appeared to Alice and Henry Rominger

His student days over, Rominger spent the next 30 years as a pastor of various Moravian, Congregational and Presbyterian congregations in the American West. In the 1880s he served a Moravian church in Osborne, Kansas, a Congregational group in Fort Gamble, Washington Territory and other congregations in Albany and East Portland, Oregon. In 1890, he married Alice Beitel, a graduate of the Philadelphia Conservatory of Music, and traveled around the world, renewing his contacts with the faculty at the University of Berlin and making lantern slides of his stays in Egypt and Palestine.⁷ He clearly hoped that his illustrated descriptions of the Holy Land would enliven his ministry in the West.

Widely traveled, happily married, residing in the Pacific Northwest that he loved, Rominger might well have hit his mid-career stride in the 1890s. Instead, they became a decade of intense disillusionment. While he was ministering in Portland in 1892, the city hosted the Presbyterian General Assembly. There heresy charges were voted against Charles Briggs, one of Rominger's mentors at Union Theological Seminary. The brilliant, contentious Briggs had by now outraged conservatives with his Old Testament criticisms. Ultimately, Briggs was convicted—a development that prompted Union to sever its ties with the Presbyterian Church and Briggs himself to take orders as an Episcopalian clergyman. For the remainder of his life, Rominger remained outraged and disgusted at the “melancholy, wretched performance” of the Presbyterian Church. “Heresy is only orthodoxy in the bud and orthodoxy is heresy gone to seed,” he later wrote. “The hope of the world and the progress of humanity we always owe to heretics. They are the world’s greatest benefactors.” The Briggs trial had shaken forever Rominger’s hope that Christianity might become an engine of creative change in human society.⁸

Fitfully, Rominger attempted to regain a sense of purpose within the Church. He served as supply pastor to one of the largest congregations in Oakland, California, but resigned—supposedly to the regret of church members—because he wanted a lighter workload and the opportunity to shepherd a smaller, perhaps more malleable, congregation. After a two year stint as an acting minister in Hot Springs, South Dakota, he became pastor of a small church in Crawford, Nebraska, in 1896. There he seemed to flourish. In less than three years, he more than doubled the size of the congregation and presided over construction of a new sanctuary, entirely free of debt.⁹

Rominger’s successes in the small western Nebraska community prompted the Union Presbyterian Church in Laramie, Wyoming, to offer him its supply pastorship in April, 1899. In part, because Laramie was home to the fledgling University of Wyoming, Rominger accepted the call. On his initial visit to Wyoming prior to the offer, he had almost certainly met several leaders of the university and community who were also connected with the Presbyterian Church. They included University President Elmer E. Smiley, a former Congregational minister himself; University Professor of Chemistry E. E. Slosson; City Attorney C. P. Arnold, son of the church’s first minister; Eli Crumrine, church trustee and member of the city council; and Judge James H. Hayford, pietistic reformer and until recently publisher of a local newspaper.¹⁰ Remembering the intellectual atmosphere he had enjoyed at Union and the University of Berlin, Rominger probably came to Laramie expecting a more receptive environment than he in fact encountered.

Laramie’s initial reaction to the Romingers was one of bemusement and applause. Alice Rominger won attention by riding her horse side-saddle; her husband, seen as a bit scholarly and eccentric, experimented with high plains

gardening and the raising of castrated roosters.¹¹ As minister, however, Rominger introduced a sense of history and commitment that brought overflow crowds to the Presbyterian church. From the pulpit, he prescribed a reading list of classics for youth in the community, and he enlisted Arnold, Hayford and others into joining him in an exceptionally popular series of sermons and lectures on 19th century history. Rominger himself spoke on the moral progress made under Queen Victoria and lauded the sacrifices for humanity made by John Ruskin, John Howard and Florence Nightingale.¹²

Approval turned to alarm in late 1899, however, when Rominger emerged as the spokesman for moral reform in the city. By the turn of the century, both Cheyenne and Laramie had begun to experience a variety of "progressive" agitations. Early in 1899, Cheyenne ministers and a newspaperman launched a spirited attack on the city fathers for not suppressing gambling. In Laramie during 1897 a new non-partisan business-oriented council had taken over from an older government so riddled with favoritism that it appeared unable to make necessary physical improvements or restrict vice. By the time Rominger arrived in Laramie, a series of bonding, sewer and disease control measures had been implemented and one local newspaper was congratulating the council on its ability to "contain" gambling and the saloon.¹³

Since two prominent Laramie Presbyterian women had participated in a mass rally against gambling in Cheyenne and since that campaign had attracted considerable press attention locally, Laramie residents became unusually sensitive to vice in their own midst. Aware of the impact of the Rev. Charles Parkhurst's dramatic "tours" of New York's fleshpots and gambling dens in 1892, Rominger staged a daylight "tour" of Laramie's three Front Street brothels in November, 1899. Then, supported by the Episcopalian minister and the local Women's Christian Temperance Union (including several Presbyterian women), he confronted the city fathers with the charge that their \$25 a month "fine" on the brothels constituted *de facto* licensing of prostitution. When City Attorney C. P. Arnold demurred, Rominger curtly volunteered to take his parishioner on a "tour" of the vice district.¹⁴

Rominger's clash with Arnold closely mirrored the national debate over prostitution at the turn of the century. The city attorney, like many moderate progressives, believed that, given contemporary social values and perhaps human nature itself, prostitution simply could not be eliminated. The proper function of government, then, was to attempt to minimize its impact, to protect the broader society against its worse ravages. While sidestepping outright legalization, these *regulationists* sought to contain the brothel to select areas of the community by fines and a measure of harassment. Any overt attempt to eradicate prostitution, they warned, would only disperse the vice throughout the community at large, offending public sen-



ARCHIVES, AMERICAN HERITAGE CENTER, UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

C. P. Arnold, City Attorney
and Prominent Presbyterian

sibilities and contaminating innocent citizens.¹⁵

Laramie, like many frontier communities, had functioned under such a "fine" system at least since the 1870s. Arnold and other city fathers with deep roots in the community clearly understood the system even when they did not openly discuss it. Perhaps in the future, when Laramie was no longer a frontier town, when the population had been stabilized and "educated," prostitution could be eliminated altogether. For the moment, however, they considered *regulation* as the only practical policy available. They appreciated the revenues brought into the city by the monthly assessments and they thought of themselves as acting responsibly on an issue of considerable volatility and complexity.¹⁶

To Rominger and other *prohibitionists*, such "practical" arguments constituted hypocrisy, a sell-out, and un-Christian retreat from the Church's universal mandate of engagement and redemption. Given his background, Rominger was probably more incensed by the community's willingness to strike a bargain with conventional assumptions than he was by the existence of prostitution itself. Certainly, the lessons of Hitchcock and Stuckenberg must have suggested to the Presbyterian minister that compromise

on such a transparently moral question would leave the local church members spiritually bankrupt, that it would constitute a surrender to "secular" pragmatists. And the heroic and confrontational posture of Briggs must have stiffened Rominger's resolve to pursue the issue—once engaged—to the bitter end. He rejected Arnold's call for "light, not heat" on the subject, for a gradualist approach to the problem, for an appreciation of the achievements of the city council in restricting the saloon, gambling and the brothels.¹⁷

**. . . Rominger's campaign polarized
Laramie causing friction
within his own congregation'**

For more than six months, Rominger's campaign polarized Laramie, causing friction within his own congregation and even within some families. Through the local Ministerial Union, he impressed the more timid Methodist and Baptist ministers into his campaign. When the council dallied, he began swearing out citizen's complaints against property owners where brothels were located and pressing local courts and juries to issue stiff fines.¹⁸ By May, 1900, his policy of unrelenting harassment had begun to break up the downtown red light district. One city father, livid with Rominger, condemned the ministers for interfering with the council's prerogatives. He complained bitterly of the dispersal of vice throughout the community and of the loss to the city of revenues from the monthly fines. Although Councilman Crumrine, of Rominger's own church, insisted that any citizen, even a minister, had a right to petition the council, the city fathers clearly favored a retreat to the red light district policy. While the issue of prostitution began to recede after the council's action, Rominger persisted in pressing the city fathers for a closing of Sunday saloons, for sponsorship of a temperance palace and for repression of gambling.¹⁹

Rominger's unwillingness to respect the conventional limits of debate almost certainly cost him his job in early 1901. Church elders, meeting in C. P. Arnold's office, voted to terminate his pastorate in April of that year. His replacement would be a far more conventional and predictable figure, A. C. Hogbin, a brother-in-law of Elder E. E. Slosson. After an emotional farewell reception by some 75 admirers from the local Prohibition Club, an unemployed and undoubtedly embittered Rominger left with his wife for Philadelphia. Like his hero Charles Briggs, Rominger had been rejected by the Presbyterian Church.²⁰

The defeat in Wyoming came midway between the Briggs heresy trial and Rominger's ultimate abandonment of the regular ministry. After brief pastorates in Dickinson and Hillsboro, North Dakota; Red Lodge and Laurel,

Montana; and Rainier and Portland, Oregon, the 56 year old Rominger grew so discouraged in 1910 that he shifted his energies to a small apple orchard and poultry raising operation on the Columbia River in southern Washington. While he still preached on a supply basis and regularly taught Sunday School, he never again subjected himself to the uncertainties of full-time dependence on church work. Instead he read Goethe, Froude, Carlyle, the muckraking literature, *Christian Century*, *Common Sense*, *The Nation* and theological books. Increasingly, he settled into a radical stance on Christianity, war and the American economic system.²¹

The people of Europe and America have never been Christians. They have never accepted the Christian religion except as a veneer and hardwood finish to their essential paganism. War is the worst wickedness ever spat from the jaws of hell but it is the "Christian" nations' most costly and highly developed instrument. We think, educate and organize for war and not for peace . . . I have found our present organization of society a flagrant contradiction [sic] of the Sermon on the Mount, the Gospel of Luke and other teachings of Christ, and when the preacher insists that our human society with all its trades and traffic must be brought up to the level of Christ's character and teachings, he is in danger of being classed as a socialist, or "red" financed from Moscow . . . The church is often acting as a buffer between righteousness and the forces of moral obliquity. Shame on it.²²



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Presbyterian Church, 1872-1907

Little in the interwar period prompted Rominger to reconsider his bleak judgments. He remembered with bitterness the wartime imprisonment of Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs. He blasted the churches and ministers for failing to protest the "judicial murder" of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927. After a trip east during which he preached in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and attended a Miami Bible class conducted by William Jennings Bryan, Rominger proudly proclaimed himself "an evolutionist, Revolutionist, radical [Christ]ian."²³

A measure of public tolerance, if not acceptance or understanding, came to the aging radical in the 1930s. When his orchard operations went bankrupt in 1931-1933, Rominger worked out an arrangement permitting him to remain on the land where he split wood, tended a garden and kept some poultry. He also served as a school board member and justice of the peace. Most satisfying of all, however, Rominger became a regular contributor to the local newspaper where he expressed himself on almost every imaginable subject. He attacked "Hoover prosperity" and the economic system, supported New Deal public power projects and fought the liquor traffic.²⁴

While some of his articles were so radical that the editor refused to print them, Rominger drew satisfaction from his belief that he was reaching a larger audience than most ministers with his religious messages. He especially enjoyed drawing upon Charles Briggs' *Whither?* (1889) in an extended debate with a Methodist minister on wealth and the church.²⁵

The "haves" are to share with the "have-nots." That . . . is the chief theme of the Bible from Genesis to Revelation. The Bible is an uncomfortable book to be read by millionaires and the selfish rich . . . Christ never had a complimentary word to say for the millionaires of his day, or any day . . . There was no place for a millionaire in Christ's society.²⁶

Proudly, he wrote back to the alumni secretary at Union, "I am not a communist or anarchist, but a good deal worse, for I believe in Christianity, and that is the most revolutionary doctrine ever communicated to man—if we once put it into action, which we don't."²⁷

The specter of war, however, muted any optimism that might have penetrated Rominger's apocalyptic world view. While he cultivated his Victory Garden and condemned Hitler and the "Jap savages," he insisted that war was fundamentally inconsistent with Christianity. The Armageddon he witnessed had sprung from the absorption of the Church by Graeco-Roman civilization over a millennium earlier. Christianity, as a consequence, had become a "conforming rather than transforming" religion. It had accommodated to society and then splintered into denominationalism. It had failed to alter western man's essential paganism. "The worst enemy of man now is man himself," he wrote, "and the science and machinery he has developed."²⁸ Even at the end of World War II, he cringed at the coming atomic war for which an essentially bankrupt "Christian Civilization" seemed to be preparing.²⁹



Charles H. Parkhurst



Edwin E. Slosson



Eli Crumrine

It would be his final jeremiad. In 1947, his health broke precipitously with the death of his wife Alice, who had been his devoted companion and chauffeur for so many years. Consequently Rominger, lonely and hospitalized, became isolated from the religious debates that so long had given definition to his life. Broken, garrulous, senile and childless, the eccentric old radical died in a Vancouver hospital in 1949.³⁰

Henry Virgil Rominger was neither an original thinker nor an effective organizer for the Church. Naive and frequently abrasive, he never found a truly receptive audience in some 70 embittering years in the American West. His significance lies in that very rejection. A tenacious, informed foot soldier for the left wing of the Social Gospel, Rominger refused to accept the surrender of religion to a

secular state or to secular values. Rather he sought to recapture the truer, more uncompromising primitive Christianity that he had learned of at Union and in Berlin. Individual and Church regeneration, based on Christ's original message, would transform society from the bottom up and avoid the necessity of statist solutions or contaminating compromises with evil.

In the West, as well as the rest of the country, mainstream Americans, including most churchmen and certainly most progressives, rejected the positions he adopted as irrelevant, impractical, probably even as un-American. A voice in the wilderness, Rominger took pride in his convictions even as a conformist, rapidly modernizing society rushed past him. At least, he must have told himself, he had kept the faith.

1. Charles Howard Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940); William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), pp. 141-178; and Henry F. May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1963). For an excellent recent survey of progressivism, drawing heavily on modernization theory, see John Whiteclay Chambers, II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).
2. For a recent examination of Christian activism below the Mason-Dixon line, see John Patrick McDowell, *The Social Gospel in the South: The Woman's Home Mission in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1886-1939* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).
3. *Alumni Catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary in the City of New York, 1836-1936* (1937), p. 77; Rominger to Harold Tryon, May 22, 1946, Rominger to C. R. Gillett, January 11, 1942, in Henry Virgil Rominger Alumni File, Union Theological Seminary (RAF-UTS); *Laramie Boomerang*, April 3, 1899.
4. Rominger to Gillett, January 11, 1942, RAF-UTS; "Roswell Dwight Hitchcock," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), pp. V, 79-80; Roswell D. Hitchcock, *Socialism* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph and Company, 1879), pp. 23, 69, 82-84. See Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel*, pp. 67-68 and May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*, p. 166. Rominger shared Hitchcock's belief that abuse of alcoholic beverages constituted a serious impediment to social reconstruction. Hitchcock, *Socialism*, p. 104; *Skamania County [Washington] Pioneer*, April 15, 1949.
5. Rominger to Gillett, February 15, 1939, RAF-UTS; Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel*, pp. 136-137. Briggs wrote that "[o]ne of the most distressing signs of the times is the failure of the Church to evangelize the masses in the great cities." Charles Augustus Briggs, *Whither?: A Theological Question for the Times* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889), p. 2.
6. Rominger to "Snyder," April 24, 1928, Rominger to Gillett, December 29, 1943 and February 15, 1939, RAF-UTS; Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel*, pp. 111-112; May, *Protestant Churches and Industrial America*, p. 178; John O. Evjen, *The Life of J. H. W. Stuckenberg—Theologian—Philosopher—Sociologist* (Minneapolis: Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1938), pp. 241-247.
7. *Alumni Catalogue . . . , 1836-1936*, pp. 77-78; *Skamania County [Washington] Pioneer*, April 15, 1949; *Laramie Boomerang*, December 22, 1900 and April 3, 1899; Rominger to Gillett, January 11, 1942, RAF-UTS. For Rominger's recollections of his trip to Palestine, see his lecture in *Laramie Republican*, May 14, 1900.
8. "Charles Augustus Briggs," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929) II, pp. 40-41; *New York Times*, June 9, 1913; Rominger to Gillett, January 11, 1942, and Rominger to "Snyder," April 24, 1928, RAF-UTS.
9. *Laramie Boomerang*, April 3, 1899; *Alumni Catalogue . . . , 1836-1936*, p. 78.
10. *Laramie Boomerang*, April 1, 3, May 23, December 29, 1899; *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary-Union Presbyterian Church, Laramie, Wyoming, 1869-1944* (1944), pp. 11, 15, 25-26. On Hayford, see author's "Pietism and Progress: James H. Hayford and the Wyoming Anti-Gambling Tradition, 1869-1893," *Annals of Wyoming* 55 (Fall, 1983): 2-8.
11. Edith Smiley, "Pioneering with Wyoming University," (unpublished typescript, 1936), p. 5, in American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, Laramie (AHC-UW).
12. *Laramie Republican*, December 4, 1899; *Laramie Boomerang*, December 29, 1899, December 10, 1900, January 12, 28, 1901.
13. *Laramie Republican*, March 31, 1899; William Howard Moore, "Progressivism and the Social Gospel in Wyoming: The Antigambling Act of 1901 as a Test Case," *The Western Historical Quarterly* (July, 1984): 299-316; *Laramie Boomerang*, January 4, 1899. On the variety of "progressive" reformers in larger cities, see Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (October 1964): 157-169, Bradley Robert Rice, *Progressive Cities: The Commission Movement in America, 1901-1920* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977) and Mark H. Haller, "Civic Reformers and Police Leadership: Chicago, 1905-1935," in Harlan Hahn, ed., *Police in Urban Society* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), pp. 39-56.
14. *Wyoming Tribune*, November 21, 1899; Minutes of Laramie City Council, November 21, 1899, Municipal Building, Laramie; *Laramie Republican*, March 31, December 6, 1899; *Laramie Boomerang*, April 1, 1899; Charles Parkhurst, *Our Fight With Tammany* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895); *Laramie Boomerang*, November 22, 1899.
15. Mark Thomas Connelly, *The Response to Prostitution in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore:

- The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); David C. Humphrey, "Prostitution and Public Policy in Austin, Texas, 1870-1915," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (April 1983): 473-516. The C. P. Arnold Papers in AHC-UW shed no light on the city attorney's quarrel with Rominger about prostitution. His views appear to have been similar to those of his father, the Rev. F. L. Arnold. See Thurmond Arnold, *Fair Fights and Foul: A Dissenting Lawyer's Life* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1965), p. 13.
16. Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in The American West, 1865-1900* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 100; *Laramie Boomerang*, November 24, 1899.
 17. Rominger's one available sermon in Laramie touching on prostitution turned into a Briggsian condemnation of denominationalism. *Laramie Republican*, February 21, 1900. Laramie's debate over prostitution bore some similarity to that of Helena, Montana, in the 1880s. There, older pioneer businessmen spoke for a measure of tolerance that offended a newer group of *arrivistes*, who sought more thoroughgoing moral reform based on eastern models. While a youthful newspaper editor and newer businessmen led Helena's anti-prostitution crusade, Laramie found its leadership with local ministers and churchwomen. See Paula Petrik, "Strange Bedfellows: Prostitution, Politicians, and Moral Reform in Helena, 1885-1887," *Montana The Magazine of Western History* (Summer 1985): 3-13.
 18. *Laramie Boomerang*, January 8, 10, 30, 1900; *Laramie Republican*, January 10, 1900. See the Methodist Rev. F. T. Krueger's sermon on "The Social Evil" in *ibid.*, December 18, 1899.
 19. *Laramie Boomerang*, May 16, December 11, 13, 1900, February 11, 16, - 1901. The issue of restricting prostitution to the red light district continued to be both a local and national problem. Not until reformers mobilized medical evidence indicating that disease spread from the red light district into the broader community were any long term inroads made against the brothel. *Ibid.*, October 12, 25, 1909, April 2, 1910; Humphrey, "Prostitution and Public Policy."
 20. Minutes of Session of Union Presbyterian Church of Laramie, January 22 and April 18, 1901, Box 1, UPCL Records and E. E. Slosson Biographical File, AHC-UW; *Laramie Boomerang*, April 8, 18, 1901.
 21. *Alumni Catalogue . . .*, 1836-1936, p. 78; Rominger to Gillett, October 31, 1911, December 29, 1941, December 29, 1943, RAF-UTS.
 22. Rominger to "Snyder," April 24, 1928, *ibid.*
 23. Rominger to Gillett, December 29, 1941, Rominger to "Snyder," April 24, 1928, Rominger to Gillett, (?) 1925, *ibid.*
 24. Rominger to Gillett, December 29, 1941, February 1, 1936, December 29, 1943, *ibid.*; *Skamania County Pioneer*, April 15, 1949. Many surviving progressives were uncomfortable with the New Deal. See Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).
 25. Rominger to Gillett, December 29, 1943, Rominger to Tryon, May 22, 1946, RAF-UTS.
 26. Rominger letter to editor, *Hood River [Oregon] News*, December 19, 1934, clipping in *ibid.*
 27. Rominger to Gillett, February 15, 1939, *ibid.*
 28. Rominger to Tryon, May 22, 1946, Rominger to Gillett, December 29, 1943, and undated wartime column "Musings of a Retired Minister" in *Skamania County Pioneer* in *ibid.*
 29. Rominger to Tryon, May 22, 1946, *ibid.* For an interesting perspective on the reaction of surviving political progressives to the breakdown of Soviet-American cooperation, see Robert Griffith, "Old Progressives and the Cold War," *The Journal of American History* (September 1979): 334-337.
 30. Rominger to Tryon, October 16, 1947, RAF-UTS; *Skamania County Pioneer*, September 12, 1947, April 15, 1949.

Few mountain ranges in the world inspire the sheer awe that the Grand Tetons in Wyoming impress upon their admirers. Descriptions that invariably include phrases like incomparable grandeur, sheer beauty and magical only hint at the magnificence of this unique mountain range. It is easy to understand why visitors are repeatedly drawn back once they have visited the Tetons.

Today, the Tetons are easily accessible via modern highways and by air. But in 1926, the year John D. Haines of Hominy, Oklahoma, journeyed westward to the Teton country, conditions were much more primitive. The Grand Teton National Park was not to be created until February 26, 1929, and in 1926 there were no paved roads, hiking trails or park rangers.¹ It was indeed a strenuous enterprise just to make your way to the Jackson Hole-Grand Teton area, much less attempt to climb the mountains.

But climbing the Grand Teton 13,770 feet to its summit was John Haines' goal as he journeyed from Osage County the summer of 1926. The first recorded climb of the Grand Teton had been made by William O. Owen, Franklin S. Spalding, Frank L. Petersen and John Shive on August 11, 1898.² Then, inexplicably, the summit was not again visited until 1923, 25 years later.

On August 25, 1923, three Montanans, Andy DePirro, Quin A. Blackburn and Dave DeLap made their successful ascent of the Grand.³ From August, 1923, until August, 1926, a handful of other parties made ascents of the Grand Teton. It was Haines' hope to join this elite group of pioneer mountaineers who had climbed the Grand. Although Haines had no previous mountaineering experience and little equipment, he possessed an ample supply of determination. The 28 year old electrician from Hominy was also in excellent physical condition for the strenuous climb.

In 1926 the Teton country was still virgin wilderness with numerous of its glorious canyons unexplored and most of its peaks unclimbed. As the highest of the peaks in the range, the Grand Teton was the peak that naturally attracted the interest of the mountaineers. The Grand has been described as so exceptional as to be conceded a place among the world's great peaks.⁴

After arriving in the Jackson Hole area, Haines made camp on beautiful Jenny Lake at the base of the Grand Teton. It was Haines' good fortune to become acquainted with Fritioff M. Fryxell, a young man of 26 years from Illinois who had recently completed graduate work in college and was searching for a topic for his doctoral dissertation in geology. Fryxell had first visited the Tetons in 1924 while searching for a research problem on the subject of mountain glaciation.⁵ The Tetons provided the solution to Fryxell's quest.



John D. Oklahoma's

by Joe D. Haines, Jr., M.D.



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Haines

Pioneer Mountaineer in the Tetons

Fryxell spent the three successive summers from 1926-1929 working on his doctorate and in 1929 was offered the position of Park Naturalist in the newly created national park, thus becoming the park's first ranger.⁶ Fryxell later went on to become the major contributor to the understanding of the geology of the area as well as becoming the most eloquent spokesman for the unique mountain range.

In August, 1926, Haines and Fryxell decided to make an ascent of the Grand Teton, taking the traditional route pioneered by the Owen party in 1898. In fact, it was not until 1929 that mountaineers began attempting alternate routes in reaching the summit of the Grand Teton. So, early one August morning Haines and Fryxell began their ascent. The climb went well until around noon when the weather turned against the two climbers. Rain and snow alternated as the mountain created its own weather and the cold rocks became difficult to hold onto. The two men continued onward, however, until they reached a horizontal ledge about 600 feet from the top. By following the ledge around the northwest precipice of the peak one can reach the base of a succession of chimneys which extend the remaining distance to the top.⁷

Along a twenty foot stretch of the ledge it becomes less than three feet wide and even less high, through which one "coons" or wriggles like a snake, unable to rise even to the elbows.⁸ Thus this narrow ledge is known as the Cooning Place and its traverse is safe by reason of the inward slope of the ledge. The Cooning Place is a definite high point of the climb since one can dangle his arm out toward the brink of a 3,000 foot abyss.⁹

As John Haines described:

Mr. F. M. Fryxell and I climbed to a height of 13,246 feet. We both made it up to the Cooning Place. There Mr. Fryxell stopped and I went on up over the (Cooning) rock and above maybe 75 or 100 feet in altitude. Up there I could see Mr. Fryxell and he motioned with his arms and hands for me to come back down.

I will say that I was in no mood to go any further on account of the weather. Rain, snow, ice cold rocks then sunshine all in the space of a few minutes. We stopped climbing at 12 o'clock noon. We traced back down to First Saddle (between the Grand and Middle Teton—elevation 11,600 feet) and on down Bradley Canyon.

We kept going all afternoon and until about 4:30 a.m. the next morning before we reached camp on Jenny Lake, two tired and sore-footed climbers. The return trip took a lot of skin off our toes and legs. We would take our boots off and put our feet in the cold mountain streams—then our feet and legs would burn.¹⁰

As Fryxell later noted, "The snow and ice we encountered above the upper saddle were most unpleasant and scary."¹¹

The two men had come within a mere 500 feet of the 13,770 foot summit, but they were to be denied their ultimate goal on this outing. Three months later Fryxell corresponded with Haines saying:

Do you expect to get back to the Teton next summer? I am quite sure that I will, probably for the whole summer. I have decided to work my doctorate thesis on the range so I will no doubt get my fill of mountaineering. I wish we could get together on a trip or two, say on another try at the Grand Teton. I won't be satisfied until I get to the top.¹²

This old snapshot, lent by the author shows Haines' camp at Jenny Lake.





Haines, on the right, and an unidentified companion in the park. The automobile appears to be a Chevrolet.

Although Haines never returned to the Tetons to make another attempt at the Grand, Fryxell returned many times and ultimately made at least one ascent of every peak in the range. Whether this noteworthy feat has ever been duplicated is unknown to the author, but it involved ten successive summers of climbing (1926-1935) and a number of trips back to the Tetons after 1935.¹³ The 1926 attempt by Haines and Fryxell was both men's first serious venture into the range. Fryxell followed with perhaps 50 or 60 other trips (by his own estimate), mostly climbs and surely a record of distinction by the standards of any era.¹⁴

As Fryxell later recalled of John Haines:

He was a tough, resourceful climber, and a pleasant, uncomplaining companion. Poorly equipped as we were, and with no trails or detailed information about the route, we did well to get as far as we did. And later experiences in the Tetons convinced me that we were wise to turn back when we did.

That summer (1926) was my fourth devoted to hiking in the West. I was very fit. So was (Haines). He was much harder than most of the men I climbed with later.¹⁵

And so, John Haines of Hominy nearly became the first Oklahoman to ascend the Grand Teton. It is a pity that he did not respond to Fryxell's invitation at trying the mountain again. Perhaps more pressing matters in Osage County diverted Haines' attention or perhaps he was satisfied in coming as close as they did. We will never know, but the 1926 climb is now a mere footnote in the history of America's most remarkable mountain range.

1. F. M. Fryxell, *Mountaineering in the Tetons—The Pioneer Period 1898-1940* (Jackson, Wyoming: The Teton Bookshop, 1978).
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. F. M. Fryxell, *The Tetons Interpretations of a Mountain Landscape* (Moose, Wyoming: Grand Teton National History Association, 1984).
6. *Ibid.*
7. Fryxell, *Mountaineering in the Tetons*.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. John D. Haines, personal notes.
11. F. M. Fryxell, personal correspondence.
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*

NATIVISM IN WYOMING 1868 to 1930:

Changing Perceptions of
Foreign Immigrants

by
Lawrence A. Cardoso

A grant from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities made possible the research for this study. The author thanks the Council for its support.

Nativism intensified rapidly in Wyoming in the early 20th century. This complex set of ideas was an essentially conservative attempt to safeguard the status quo against abrupt changes by reviving traditional beliefs and values. Motivated primarily by patriotism, nativists practiced a defensive nationalism which sought to preserve ideas and institutions of high value to them and denigrate anything perceived as a danger to those cherished things. Nativists saw unassimilated foreign-born immigrants who were not citizens of the United States as a potent internal enemy. By definition, because of their suspect racial, religious and political backgrounds, the newcomers were obstacles in the pathway of national purification.

This anti-foreign impulse ebbed and flowed after the Civil War. Particularly in bad economic times nativists questioned the advisability of allowing unrestricted immigration, especially from countries in southern and eastern Europe. These periods, however, were brief and did not see the end of immigration. Most Americans continued to believe in the ultimate assimilation of immigrants because of the strength of the general environment in Americanizing recent arrivals. It was the outbreak of World War I in 1914, well before the United States became a belligerent in April, 1917, that saw nativist sentiment come to be the dominant viewpoint. Disruptive changes during the wartime period caused massive internal migration from rural to urban areas as many sought to take advantage of war-induced prosperity. Millions of men left their homes for military service. Federal control over the economy accelerated. During the immediate postwar period the cockiness of domestic radicals, depression, Bolshevik revolutions in Europe and increasing labor strife on the home front served to underscore the real and supposed dangers of rapid and unregulated change. Nativists lashed out at America's immigrant population as part of their campaign to impose order on the national polity and lessen domestic turmoil. This national tide of fear and paranoia resulted in increasingly restrictive federal immigration laws and massive efforts to speed up the assimilation of resident foreigners through coercion. Gone forever was the presumption of voluntary Americanization.

Wyoming opinion leaders followed these national trends beginning with the creation of the territory in 1868. They generally welcomed immigrants from all parts of the world before 1914 in the belief that the unassimilated would quickly rise to local standards of language, culture and patriotism in their new environment. Local expectations in these early days strongly resisted a gloomy, fearful national body of thought which challenged European immigration. The pre-war years from 1914 to 1917 saw a dramatic turn around in the depth and intensity of nativism in the Cowboy State. This change stemmed from the belief that large numbers of immigrants comprised a fifth column

which would ultimately destroy Wyoming society. The validity of the "melting pot" concept, an earlier premise which underlaid a benign view of the newcomers, came under increasing attack. The United States' entry into the war in April, 1917, intensified these qualms. Post-war economic instability and the sensational "Red Scare" of 1921 and 1922 kept negativism toward the foreign-born at a fever pitch and accelerated the desire for a homogeneous nationalism. Wyoming joined this nativist mainstream of the "tribal twenties," and avidly supported the national consensus which shut the door on immigration. Local elites, with the apparent blessings of popular opinion, sponsored and enforced state legislation which sought the forced assimilation of the foreigner in Wyoming. Despite the traditional view of historians that local people welcomed all immigrants well into the 20th century with only sporadic reservations, a close examination of our sources reveals that this was not the case.¹

The newly established territory of Wyoming was hungry for population after its founding in 1868. Boosters from both the public and private sectors sought large-scale immigration in the belief that areas far from the Union Pacific Railroad line of settlements would fill up with industrious farmers and mechanics.² J. H. Triggs in his *History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming* sought to attract an "intelligent and moral class" of settlers. Years later, thinking back to his two terms as territorial governor, Francis E. Warren noted that Wyoming in the 19th century "needed all the good, honorable settlers it could get."³

These high hopes of rapid economic development drew little distinction between native-born and foreign-born immigrants. The quest for families to plow the soil, tend the flocks, work the mines and build the cities dictated that all men and women were welcome as long as they contributed to the creation of the new commonwealth. Indeed, the dismal performance of the local economy during the first few decades further clouded the importance of the newcomers' origins. Germans, wrote an editorialist for the *Cheyenne Daily Leader* in 1868, brought much-needed "industry, thrift, intelligence and an enthusiastic devotion to democratic institutions." Immigrants from other areas of western and northern Europe, such places as the British Isles, Holland and Scandinavia, were similarly welcomed as additional sources of strength for the new western society.⁴

The radical shift in immigrant origins after 1890 did little at first to alter local perceptions of foreigners. Millions of people from southern and eastern Europe began to cross the Atlantic after that date in pursuit of better lives. By the turn of the century these "new" immigrants, as historians have labeled them, comprised four-fifths of all entrants into the United States. Their numbers would total 25,000,000 by 1914. Russians, Poles, Greeks, Italians and others, were

Territorial Governor
Francis E. Warren
advocated immigration of
good honorable settlers
to Wyoming.



AMH PHOTO

markedly different from those "old" immigrants who came here before 1890. For the most part of the Catholic and Jewish faiths, they came from societies which did not share the political traditions of the United States and nations of northern and western Europe. Their homelands' heritages were ones of political turbulence and autocratic rule. Many of them were desperately poor. From cultures still in the pre-industrial age, these often swarthy-skinned immigrants lacked many elemental skills which would have led to quick success in the United States. Instead, almost all of them were suited only for unskilled, low-paying jobs. They seemed to be light years removed from the lifestyles, traditions and promises of most Americans and immigrants who had come from other parts of Europe.⁵

The arrival of large numbers of Italians, Slavs and others from southern and eastern Europe caused great alarm on the national level soon after they began arriving after 1890. *The Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, published in 1911 as part of an extensive federal investigation chaired by Senator Dillingham of Vermont, spelled out nativist fears. Eastern Europeans, it was claimed, were cruel, ferocious and untrustworthy because of irrational swings of mood. Since many of them came from areas subject to Russian control, they had no understanding of self-government or the prerequisites for that form of rule. Italians, most of them from the southern part of their homeland, were even worse. Over the course of history

there had been almost no admixture of Teutonic blood; instead, the area's population had distant African antecedents, rendering this group of people incapable of any sort of progress. Many personal vices resulted from this historical and biological evolution. In the eyes of nativists, Italians would always remain prone to crime, dependent on charity, vengeful, superstitious and illiterate; in short, not the sort of people who could contribute to the progress of the United States.⁶

These individual pathologies caused many well known social problems for their new homeland. New immigrants refused to spread themselves out over the entire country, so as to ease their assimilation, and remained congregated in a few urban areas in the Northeast. These large communities of illiterate and inarticulate people were easy prey for corrupt political bosses. High rates of poverty, crime, vice and disease also characterized these eastern slums. Huddled together as they were, they seemed to be an undigestible lump, a foreign growth, which would threaten and then destroy American culture. All facets of society were at the mercy of this internal cancer: religion, law, politics, rules of comportment, customs and other cherished traditions. In order to thwart these internal dangers, members of the Dillingham Commission recommended the use of a literacy test for would-be immigrants. In this way, the concentrations of foreigners in eastern cities could gradually be reduced and the nation saved.⁷



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John W. Hoyt, a Territorial Governor and later University President. His prayers for statehood included the assurance that Wyomingites were of the very best class of citizens.

Wyoming's leaders thought they had a more effective way to deal with these problems than the restriction of immigration. Far removed from the East's nagging problems and mounting nativism and evermindful of slow economic development, local boosters believed their new society could solve national ills by transforming the newcomers—almost magically—into good Americans. Wyomingites had a limitless faith in the ability of the frontier environment to assimilate foreigners, whatever their origins. They placed their faith in the precepts of a common humanity, equal rights and confidence that the system could rectify any difficulties. Whether this self-image was true or not was beside the point. Many believed it was true, and then proceeded to act on the belief. As John W. Hoyt expressed these ideas in his prayer for admission into the Union, Wyomingites were "of the very best class of American citizens, having come from the most enlightened portions of the United States and Europe." The loyalty, patriotism and love of liberty of the territory's people, wrote Governor Francis E. Warren, "have not been decreased but increased by the hardships and dangers that have been endured and by the difficulties that have been encountered and overcome in laying the foundation."⁸

Coupled with this strong faith in the environment was an optimistic image of European immigrants. As was true of Americans on the whole before 1914, Wyomingites saw the newcomers as energetic, hardy and yearning to become

good citizens. Italians, Greeks, Slavs and others would assimilate quickly and adopt the Wyoming self-image because that was what they desired. All were Americans in the making. The local educational establishment would help guide this process through a chauvinistic presentation of the nation's history to the newcomers' children, but that was what the immigrants wanted. The Old World would soon be forgotten in preference for the New.⁹

To be sure, as was true for the rest of the United States, stereotypes about southern and eastern Europeans existed in Wyoming among local opinion molders. Italians were thought to be addicted to the vice of gambling; Slavs received their full share of negative imagery from the local press; other immigrants were said to suffer from defects in their mental and physical makeup. Local newspapers blithely used terms such as "paddy green" and "dago pink" in their columns. On occasion the hyperbole of local editorial writers matched anything found in the nation. G. S. Walker of the *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, for example, opined in 1900, when it appeared that China's Boxer Rebellion might lead to violence against Orientals in local mining camps, that most immigrants were "of the worthless, never-work, anarchistic type and should be turned back from our shores."¹⁰

Despite this evidence of negative attitudes, there was no campaign of sustained and systematic nativist agitation in Wyoming during the period from 1868 to 1914. Members



of the local elite, whether newspaper editors, politicians, local boosters for economic growth or community leaders, have left no evidence of organized restrictionist sentiment during the period. The Immigration Restriction League, so powerful from the 1890s onward in other parts of the country because of the public support of many notable public figures, did not exist in Wyoming. No outpouring of support by the elite can be found for random, spontaneous anti-foreign outbursts. What incidents there were coincided with times of economic stress when the newcomers provided handy scapegoats for general malaise. It is important to note here the circumstances of the infamous Rock Springs Massacre of 1885. After white employees of the Union Pacific Coal Department murdered 28 Chinese workers, Governor Warren moved quickly to call in federal troops so as to restore order, protect property and prevent the further loss of immigrants lives. During the depression of the early 1890s Populist leader Shakespeare E. Sealy denounced foreign laborers, saying they deprived native-born workers of available jobs. At about the same time the American Protective Association, whose members saw a Catholic conspiracy to subvert and conquer representative government in the United States, was particularly effective in local elections against the two major established parties in Cheyenne and Laramie, but had little long-lasting influence over the electorate. The frustration and disillusionment caused by the Panic of 1893 even caused the state legislature to memorialize the Congress to restrict "in-

The Rock Springs Massacre. An extreme example of anti-foreign outburst.

discriminate immigration that now threatens to overwhelm the nation." These manifestations of nativism doubtlessly represented only a small part of what was a deep-felt popular resentment against immigrants in Wyoming, particularly during times when laboring men and women keenly felt job competition with foreigners. But the inarticulate found no sustained support from any segment of Wyoming's elite. That would not come until well after the turn of the century. For the time being prior to 1914, grass roots grievances died with their immediate economic causes by the end of the 19th century.¹¹

Nor did the laws of Wyoming before 1914 indicate substantial sanctions against local non-citizens. Article XIX of the state constitution of 1890 forbade the employment of foreign citizens by state, county or municipal governments, but this provision was simply copied from similar documents in nearby states without discussion on the part of constitutional delegates. Delegates also adopted a literacy requirement for suffrage. "We refuse [the franchise] to the illiterate because they are incompetent voters," said John W. Hoyt. Wyoming must not be "flooded by people from the old world, without



Charles L. Vagner, rancher, merchant and member of the constitutional convention of 1889.

knowledge of our institutions, without ability to read our constitution, or without ability to govern themselves." The purpose of this barrier was twofold. First and foremost, the men who wrote this basic document wished to end the manipulation of foreigners' votes by local political machines. Secondly, the literacy test was at best only a temporary obstacle to full immigrant participation in Wyoming politics. The delegates assumed the ready and willing desire of the foreign-born to assimilate and literacy was part and parcel of Americanism.¹²

Only one law dealt specifically with the foreign-born before 1914. This piece of legislation, passed in 1887, prohibited the inducement of immigration through means of a prior contract; that is, an employer could not invite workers from a foreign land through promises of employment. Based on a federal law of 1885, this territorial statute was an attempt to deny employers the use of low-paid strikebreakers. Its purpose was more to ease labor strife and uphold the standard of living of American citizens than to discriminate against non-natives.¹³ It is instructive to note here another example of this early period's mild ethnic and racial nativism. Despite strong prejudices against Asians and other non-whites, Wyoming editorial writers and politicians strongly criticized legislation from 1869 which prohibited interracial marriages, arguing that this ban would discourage the territory's population growth. This law was repealed in 1882 by a large legislative majority.¹⁴



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Meyer Frank, one of the founders of Newcastle and three times its Mayor.

The economic success and rapid assimilation of most early immigrants from overseas offered the most convincing proof of their innate abilities and desire to Americanize. Many of the "old" immigrants originated in the British Isles or had lived elsewhere in the United States before coming to Wyoming. This meant that the majority of the newcomers were familiar with the English language and already partially assimilated when they arrived. Several cases in point, of many which could be singled out, indicate this early pattern. Charles L. Vagner, born in Denmark in 1849, first settled in Illinois and later came to Wyoming where he operated an extensive network of mercantile, banking and ranching interests. He was later appointed to the Board of Trustees of the University of Wyoming and elected to the state constitutional convention in 1889 to represent Carbon County. Meyer Frank, another member of the convention, was born in Germany in 1854. In the 1880s Frank helped found and build Newcastle. Local citizens saw fit to elect him their mayor for three terms. Lawrence R. Bresnahan was a native of Ireland. He came to Cheyenne from New York state and opened a retail store in 1867. Bresnahan represented Laramie County in the Fourth Territorial Legislature in 1875, and later served four terms as Cheyenne's mayor. Eugene Amoretti, Jr., although born in South Pass in 1871, was the son of Italian immigrants who came to Wyoming in 1868. Amoretti had extensive business interests in Fremont County and later served in a variety of city and county offices.¹⁵



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Eugene Amoretti—Fremont County merchant and politician.

These and other success stories on the part of immigrants led many Wyomingites to believe they could help solve the social problems associated with the presence of large numbers of new arrivals in eastern cities. Pro-immigration spokesmen, attempting to counter national nativistic patterns, sought to continue America's role as a haven for the world's oppressed. In their search for continuity they supported a variety of organizations which were designed to distribute immigrants more evenly over the face of the land. In this way immigrants, deprived of the constant reinforcement of old country ways as members of a subculture, would quickly assimilate once they were immersed in a general American population. Governor Joseph M. Carey became a charter member of the American Immigration and Distribution League of New York City, seeking to further the "sacred duty" of keeping America the land of open immigration. Carey's predecessor, Bryant B. Brooks, urged the pro-immigration Split Ticket Association of Cleveland, Ohio, to keep Wyoming in mind as a final destination for its clients.¹⁶

The state's heady prosperity during the period from the Spanish-American war to 1914, although not as vigorous as many had hoped, gave yet more impetus to attract foreigners. Governors of the period represented a wide consensus on the desirability of this policy. Editorial opinion held that if the state could attract a critical mass of immigrants, word-of-mouth advertising would then take

on a momentum of its own and ensure the continuing arrival of thousands of Europeans. Intense support from the private sector complemented public policy. Rancher Frank C. Bosler of Rock River spearheaded this campaign when he created the Wyoming Publicity Association in 1911. A statewide immigration convention, held in Cheyenne in January, 1911, drew representatives from all parts of the state. Bosler called this meeting "very satisfactory and enthusiastic." Members of the Association included Carey and his son Robert, John B. Kendrick of Sheridan and Patrick J. Quealey of Lincoln County.¹⁷

These strenuous public and private efforts had mixed results, but they do show the commitment of local leaders to attract as many "new" immigrants as possible. Roy Schenck, Carey's Commissioner of Immigration, actively sought to attract Russian Jews. State government cooperated with federal agencies to spread immigrants throughout the land. Schenck's office supported the translation of federal promotional literature into several foreign languages, hoping this would draw southern and eastern Europeans out of festering eastern slums. In 1912 Schenck, with Carey's backing, unsuccessfully sought an appropriation to hire an agent in New York City to greet new arrivals just off the boat, all the while extolling the virtues of the Cowboy State.¹⁸

The thousands of "new" immigrants who flocked to the state as a result of these private and public efforts presented local people with a decidedly different type of inhabitant. Few had lived elsewhere in the United States for any period of time. Virtually none of them knew English or were acquainted with the rudiments of the American way of life. These characteristics set them off sharply from the earlier "old" arrivals. When members of the Dillingham Commission surveyed 1,751 miners in Sweetwater and Uinta Counties in 1908, they found that few of the newcomers could communicate with their fellow workers. Moreover, employers believed that Italians, Greeks and Montenegrins (from what is now Yugoslavia) were "tricky," undependable and unsuited for supervisory or other responsible positions. Employers preferred to place their trust only in native-born or northern European workers. Much the same negative sentiments were in evidence in the case of Klaus Sevcik, a native of what is now Czechoslovakia. In what must have been another manifestation of popular resentment, local people, according to Ted Olson in his memoirs, widely regarded Sevcik as a johnny-come-lately, making fun of his rudimentary, thickly-accented English and the supposed sluggishness of his character. None of these nativist qualms, however, extended to the immigrants' children, since they were educated in the pure mountain air of Wyoming and reported as more enlightened and progressive (meaning assimilated) than their parents. Before 1914 this view of the new arrivals simply did not extend to the second generation.¹⁹ It would take wider events and greater fears

for state and national safety to have these ideas become more generalized so as to make Wyoming leaders discard all hope for the immigrants and their children.

The outbreak of World War I in Europe in August, 1914, provided these necessary ingredients. The war's inherent tensions and insecurities brought to a head and defined a more general concern many Americans felt about their country's traditions, values and ideals. This perceived disorganization brought about pressure to reform conditions so as to return to the "good old days" of the pre-1890 period. Immigrants were singled out as one of the many forces which had corrupted the country. Wyomingites shared these concerns and saw several additional local problems. Many inhabitants of the state agreed with Governor Kendrick who feared that the "tide of home-seekers" pouring into the state would eventually lessen the importance of the livestock industry. Immigrants, a very noticeable part of this tide prior to the outbreak of war, thus became a danger to the status quo. Would-be reformers in Wyoming consciously built on local anxieties in order to further their causes. Concern over regional political differences, entrenched islands of privilege and the seeming pervasive existence of sin and corruption, all said to frustrate the full potential of growth and prosperity, laid a firm groundwork for efforts to clean up the state and enforce some version of moral regeneration. As was true of many other Americans, Wyomingites vaguely but increasingly saw the unassimilated as an obstruction to the long-awaited heaven on earth.²⁰

The immediate, precipitating cause of the flowering of nativism in Wyoming was the hope that the United States would avoid entanglement in the conflict. If European nations willingly and eagerly sought to spill the blood and destroy the treasure of their neighbors in the pursuit of selfish national aims, let it be so; the United States could serve its own best interests by adhering to a policy of strict neutrality. Widespread fears swept the state, however, that members of immigrant communities hoped for victory on the part of their original homelands. This indicated divided loyalty, by definition disloyalty. President Woodrow Wilson set the tone of these nativist fears in 1915 when he sought repressive legislation designed to deal with those "who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life . . . Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out."²¹

Many Wyomingites certainly saw a clear and present danger close at home. Many counties, a special state census of 1915 showed, had achieved an uncomfortably high percentage of foreign-born. Almost one-half of Sweetwater County's population had been born overseas; Carbon County had more than one-fourth foreign-born. These ethnic enclaves, formerly so eagerly sought after and gleefully welcomed, were now said to be enemies lodged in the very bosom of one of the purest bastions of American democracy. Cora Wanamaker, editor and publisher of the

Rock Springs Rocket, despite her earlier praise of all immigrants as Americans-in-the-making, decried the newcomers' illiteracy and ignorance of the English language and, above all, their lack of support for strict neutrality.²² An editorialist for the *Casper Record* thought it necessary to remind local immigrants to lend their stern support to President Wilson's policy of neutrality. Other newspaper writers issued similar calls for the conformity of undiluted Americanism. "We used to think," read an editorial in the *Laramie Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, "that foreigners came here because they fled from things they disliked, to the things they loved. This is no longer so." This editorial, reprinted from the *Denver Express*, showed that Wyoming was rapidly joining the radically changing body of national opinion.²³

American entry into the war in April, 1917, heightened and intensified nativists' demands for conformity. Anti-German outbursts have been extensively detailed elsewhere by historians. Local authorities banned the teaching of the German language; German-language books were

"Vigilance committees in Basin, Thermopolis, Lander, Douglas, Powell, Cheyenne and elsewhere kept watch on suspected agents of the Kaiser, thought to be in all parts of Wyoming."

burned in public ceremonies. Vigilance committees in Basin, Thermopolis, Lander, Douglas, Powell, Cheyenne and elsewhere, kept watch on suspected agents of the Kaiser, thought to be in all parts of Wyoming. Cheyenne's local patriots carried the war effort to its logical extreme when they compiled a "warmth of patriotism" index for that city's inhabitants.²⁴

These spectacular incidents were only a surface manifestation of a vehement and rapidly building nativist consensus directed against all foreigners, whatever their origin. This prism of paranoia was greatly strengthened by federal officials who brilliantly exploited the swelling nativist tide. Film makers in Hollywood, for example, poured forth at the urging of Woodrow Wilson's government a steady stream of motion pictures which touted blatant nationalism and pictured the United States as the saviour of western civilization. No attempt was made to understand those who for real or imaginary reasons were not totally supportive of the war effort. George Creel's Committee for Public Information bombarded Americans with propaganda which further exacerbated pre-war uncertainty about the immigrants as an obstacle to national policy. In addition, the new science of psychology



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"proved"—by testing procedures and assumptions which were completely discredited in subsequent years—the in-born inferiority of immigrant men who volunteered for service in the armed forces. Almost 70 percent of Polish-born inductees, to give only one example here, were assigned a test grade of "D," indicating a mental age of 7 to 11 years. The entire nation, it was loudly proclaimed, was in immediate and extreme danger because of the presence of these dullards. Instead of viewing the large number of immigrant volunteers as proof of loyalty to their new homeland, nativists used this group of men as guinea pigs in experiments to provide data for already-held negative stereotypes.²⁵

Wyoming's elites did what they could on the state level to maintain nativism at a fever pitch. Representative Frank W. Mondell saw our internal heterogeneity as a grave obstacle to the winning of the war. Organized labor, also anxious to form and enforce a unanimous and "correct" opinion unsullied by foreign pollution, created a state chapter of the American Alliance for Labor and Democracy to ferret out and remove disloyal workers from their posts. Newspapers such as the *Sheridan Post* cried for an end to unwarranted tolerance of the local foreign-born. It was high time to rake the local population with a fine-tooth comb so that "everything that looks, smells or tastes of treason [can] be taken in hand and fumigated and punished." In more prosaic terms, apparently not concerned with the

danger of inciting nativist mobs, the same newspaper warned miners in nearby coal camps to "stand by the flag or get punched."²⁶ Other sources by local opinion molders, showing they were quickly catching up with what may have been dominant popular opinion for some time, issued dire predictions of military defeat and ensuing Bolshevik revolution if the seething, illiterate, treasonous groups of immigrants in Wyoming were allowed to retain their old country ways. Indeed, the "race suicide" of the Anglo-Saxon in America in the face of a raging Latin and Slavic presence was about to occur before the very eyes of Wyomingites. Evil foreigners "were and are anti-social in their instincts. They cared neither for good government nor for freedom and liberty save to subvert all order." The notion of "race suicide," first put forth by sociologist Edward Allsworth Ross in the early part of the century as one of the red flags of the national nativist movement, had come to be part of the Wyoming mindset. The war had spawned a belief in a looming racial Armageddon.²⁷ Something had to be done to stave off disaster.

Frank Mondell viewed internal heterogeneity as a grave obstacle to victory in World War I.

"We are 100 per cent American in the State of Wyoming, and we are going to remain 100 per cent American." Acting Governor Frank Houx's proclamation in 1918 represented the near-universal support for the One Hundred Percent Americanism movement in the state. The essence of wartime nativism, this grass-roots movement preached near-religious support of the war effort, and in the process expressed great apprehension over all foreigners in the land, not only those from Germany. Local elites, before the war avid supporters of immigration to Wyoming in the causes of national salvation and state economic development, now preached the dangers of the Balkanization of the country. Harrison C. Dale, Professor of Political Science at the University of Wyoming, in his Lincoln's Birthday address of 1918 issued a clarion call for what he called America's "fundamentals of citizenship." They must "transcend race, and [their] ideals must be so high that ancient animosities and hereditary loyalties cannot compete with them, or divide the allegiance which they demand." Throughout the state local leaders sought the quick creation of these nativist groups, agreeing with an editorialist of the *Douglas Budget* who believed "there is room in every community for such a club and the indications are that practically every community will have one."²⁸

Defensive nationalism's cry for conformity intensified after the end of the war in November, 1918. All of Europe appeared to be slipping into anarchism and revolution, far removed from the stated wartime goal of making the world

AMH PHOTOS



SUNRISE, WYOMING MINERS

Mines and railroads offered employment to large groups of immigrants from varied ethnic backgrounds. When they went on strike, nativists overreacted, riots broke out and federal troops were called in to restore law and order.

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD WORKERS





safe for democracy. Bolshevik rule gripped Russia; bloody attempts were made to spread this form of government to other areas of the continent. Numerous undeclared wars broke out as various nations attempted to secure territory thrown up for grabs by the postwar fluidity of demarcation lines. To forestall radical efforts in the United States witch-hunting, a holy war to return America to "normalcy," gripped the land. All who failed to acknowledge the perfection of America had to be imperfect themselves during the Red Scare. Officialdom harassed and arbitrarily deported many of the foreign-born to remove the bacillus of contamination. The immigrant thus remained a focal point of fear for the future.²⁹

Events in Wyoming gave proof to many that the end might be close at hand at home. The quick collapse of wartime prosperity in 1919 brought disastrous changes to the Cowboy State. Many businesses went bankrupt. Homes, farms and ranches were lost to mortgage holders; bank failures mounted. The Great Depression of the 1930s had struck a full decade before its effects were felt in the rest of the nation. Resulting labor unrest, seen by nativists as the cutting edge of foreign radicalism's advance, mounted. In April and November, 1919, 7,000 miners went on strike, closing all the state's coal mines. State authorities, fearful of violence, declared martial law and called in federal troops to ensure law and order. In July, 1922, 3,500 railroad workers struck, putting hundreds of trains out of service and giving rise to two riots in Sheridan. In 1919, organized labor began to create a State Labor Party.³⁰ Union intentions, coming as they did at the height of the Red Scare and representing the wishes of many foreign-born workers, led to great fears for the status quo. Governor Robert D. Carey, expecting the worst, told the legislature in 1919 that "the time may come when [anarchists] will invade 'Wyoming' in order to assist in the destruction of the established order. Carey requested anti-radical legislation, but action on his bill was postponed indefinitely. Presumably, it was believed that federal authorities had the situation well in hand.³¹

Numerous incidents from the postwar period further indicate how deeply and quickly nativism had embedded itself in the minds of leading Wyomingites. Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, President of the National Society of the Children of the American Revolution, like virtually all of the state's

Joseph M. Carey (top) advocated keeping the U.S. open to immigration, while his son, Robert (bottom) feared an anarchist invasion of Wyoming.

Charles E. Winter (top) blamed lack of support for Prohibition on the foreign-born. Governor William B. Ross supported deportation of immigrants who violated liquor laws.

residents, blamed the war for exposing terrible fissures in American society. Yet, thankfully, the alarms raised had revealed the exact causes of these disruptions. Social problems could be laid for the most part on the door of the immigrant, most of whom showed a "regrettable lack of regard for custom, for law and for religion." Representative Charles E. Winter, Mondell's successor, blamed lack of popular support for Prohibition on the hyphenate American who refused to let go of Old World customs which glorified the social uses of alcohol. In a similar vein, Governor William B. Ross wanted the federal government to bar from citizenship and deport all of the foreign-born who had been convicted of violating anti-liquor laws. In this way, Ross alleged, moral Americans would then respect their moral laws. Further attempts to Americanize Wyoming can be seen in the new policy of the State Board of Immigration. The Board, in an abrupt departure from its pre-1914 policies and philosophy, sought only "the better class of American citizens" beginning in 1923. As late as 1930 Mary N. Brooks, wife of former Governor Bryant Brooks who had been an ardent proponent of building a cosmopolitan citizenry during his term as chief executive, sought to uncover what she thought to be extensive Bolshevik infiltration at the University of Wyoming and public schools throughout the area. She suggested a loyalty oath to the state and federal constitutions as a way of ferreting out subversives. State leaders had moved solidly into the camp of fear and uncertainty when they looked at things foreign.³²

Ku Klux Klan activity in Wyoming gave an important indication of nativism at another level of the state's population. While the Klan never achieved the strength in Wyoming that it did in many other states, organizers certainly thought there was much potential here. In late 1924 Imperial Wizard Hiram Evans, on a tour of western areas, established a chapter in Casper. Meeting in local Odd Fellows Halls and Masonic temples, the Klan provided reinforcement for the faithful. In Cheyenne the Klan's women's auxiliary was incorporated in December, 1924, for the purpose of "furthering American principles and ideals and institutions." Only "white, female persons . . . of American birth" were eligible for membership. Elsewhere, Klan members burned crosses and harassed the foreign-born in sporadic campaigns and their efforts may have been decisive in defeating Catholic Joseph C. O'Mahoney in the Democratic primary of 1924.³³





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Radical KKK Nativists may have caused Catholic Joseph C. O'Mahoney the 1924 election.

Local conditions handicapped the extremism of the Klan, however. Many Wyomingites agreed with former University of Wyoming President Aven Nelson who expressed his contempt for the organization, saying that "nothing more unamerican could be devised than to entrust the administration of justice to unknown parties working under the cover of darkness and in disguise. This opens the way for a reign of terror." In short, the Klan did not meet local definitions of the American way, since they operated outside of established institutions. The Greybull mayoral elections of 1924 gave a clear-cut indication of the relative political weakness of the Klan in one local contest. Despite its bitter opposition to candidate Elizabeth Wiley, local voters saw fit not to follow the Klan's advice when they cast their ballots.³⁴

Despite these limitations on the more extreme forms of nativist agitation, there was a strong consensus that foreigners by definition were dangerous, especially those who had not sought American citizenship. A large body of state law sought to deal with this perceived threat after 1914. As early as 1915 the state legislature passed and Governor Kendrick signed a new law which required a special annual license for all non-citizens who owned any type of firearm or fishing tackle. The law exempted from its provisions bona fide residents of the state who paid

taxes in excess of \$100.00 a year or who had taken steps to acquire public lands. These exemptions were designed in an apparent attempt to give local authorities a tool to quell threats by outside agitators and local unmarried males who worked in mining camps and on railroad gangs. During the war nativists urged the full use of this law to maintain peace. By 1925, its forbearance exhausted with this moderate approach, the legislature outright banned all non-citizens from owning, possessing, wearing or carrying any sort of gun, knife or other dangerous weapon.³⁵ Many other state statutes discriminated against non-citizens, as Wyoming, along with every other state in the nation in the 1920s, increasingly penalized its foreign-born population. By 1930 members of this minority could not work as attorneys, embalmers or funeral directors, physicians, engineers, realtors or certified public accountants. They were similarly proscribed from employment as surveyors, hunting-party outfitters and guides or supervisors in mines. No member of this group could work in any job which entailed the manufacture, distribution or sale of liquor.³⁶

At the same time Americanization education sought to remove the cultural presence of the immigrant. If a newcomer was different in language or self-definition or in shared memories, he or she was un-American and therefore not an acceptable Wyomingite. Earlier assumptions about the commanding ability of the environment as an agent of Americanization evaporated with the onset of war. Assimilation was now seen as something too important to be left to chance. Wyoming's local school districts and labor unions set up classes to inculcate knowledge of local values and the "American way of life." These voluntary efforts were encouraged by the federal Bureau of Naturalization as part of President Wilson's efforts to clear the "poison" from the arteries of national life. Local people responded well to federal guidance. Grace Raymond Hebard's efforts in Laramie, for example, were so successful that students who took her classes and received a satisfactory certificate from her were granted citizenship without further examination.³⁷

These local, ad hoc efforts were deemed insufficient soon after the war. The legislature of 1919, meeting at the height of the national and state Red Scares, overwhelmingly approved the first statewide Americanization program when it required all non-English-speaking people in Wyoming to remedy their defect by attending compulsory classes in English and American history. Governor Carey said he was "in sympathy with the purpose" of the bill, but believed a veto of the proposal was in order. Unhappy with the vague delegation of powers to the state Board of Education, Carey also found the bill patently void, since the state constitution required school attendance only for people in the six to eighteen year age group. The problem of foreigners had to be dealt with, but the methods employed must be within accepted legal and constitutional norms.³⁸



"Evening Americanization Class," taken from a 1921-1922 Department of Education Report. Such classes were a major nativist effort to Americanize Wyoming.

Carey called for a revised bill in 1921, the next time the legislature met. The governor's Director for Vocational Education, Jasper R. Coxen, citing the "rather large groups" of immigrants in the state, had recommended an appropriation of \$5,000 to fund at least 50 separate classes in English education. Legislators, in a sharp departure from their spending patterns for other requests, were even more generous than Carey and Coxen had hoped. They authorized a total of \$8,000 to fund classes wherever five or more people requested them. County school boards were required to provide personnel and facilities. State funds would then be used to reimburse county boards for their expenses in paying teachers. The latter were ordered to stress language training and American history and government in the classroom. The enrollment of foreign-born women was especially sought, since they would then help Americanize their children. This program continued throughout the 1920s. Department of Education statistics show that almost 5,000 adult pupils enrolled over the course of the decade. By 1932 the program was in marked decline because of the sharp decrease in the number of non-citizens in the state.³⁹

Growing support for restrictive federal immigration laws was another way to help erase the foreign presence in Wyoming. The state's congressional delegation for many years before 1914 had failed to reflect the thinking of state leaders on this issue. Francis E. Warren, in the Senate until his death in 1929, Warren's colleague Clarence Don Clark, in office from 1895 to 1917, and Representative Mondell, in Congress from 1898 to 1922, closely followed national nativist trends in their voting patterns. Beginning with the first recorded vote to override President McKinley's veto of a literacy test in 1898, the three men followed the Republican party's position of favoring restrictive legislation. Warren, Clark and Mondell, as well as their successors, voted as they did for the immediate benefits which accrued to Wyoming because of their behavior. By towing their party's line, they won political allies in Congress for their efforts to open up federally owned western lands to exploitation, garnered more tax monies for reclamation projects and assistance to homesteaders and won authorizations for federal buildings and military installations in the state. Leaders from both parties at the state level have left no record of unhappiness with this situation. Wyoming benefited greatly from heavy federal expenditures in the state, and, in any event, immigration was not affected to any important degree in the prewar years.⁴⁰

Nativists in Congress had long sought a literacy test. This hurdle, the ability to read a few words in any language, was designed primarily to bar the entry of

southern and eastern Europeans, since so many of them were illiterate. Congress lacked the votes to override presidential vetoes until the eve of America's entry into the war. On February 1, 1917, Congress overrode President Wilson's second veto of a literacy test. The latter, advocated by the Dillingham Commission, seemed moderate at the time. The country was swept up in an anti-foreigner mood and commercial shipping had almost disappeared because of the war. The time seemed right to address the widespread consensus on the evils of the immigrant presence.⁴¹

Wyoming's elites caught up with their congressmen and probably the state's general population in seeking a more permanent solution to the horrors of immigration. Congressman Mondell railed at the "foul hordes" of postwar Europe who sought entry into the United States. In a fractured paraphrasing of the Bible he went on to note that "He that provideth not for his own household, is worse than an infidel, and what shall it profit America if we should afford asylum to all the earth and lose our own soul." Public opinion strongly supported these fears. The anarchy of Italy and Greece would overtake America, warned the *Casper Daily Tribune*, if we continued to permit the entrance of those dedicated to the destruction of established order. "It is strictly a self-defense proposition," in the words of a writer in the *Rock Springs Rocket*.⁴²

Most Wyomingites preferred some sort of a permanent quota system to save their state and nation. Labor unions avoided racial and religious arguments because of their large foreign-born membership and concentrated on the economic effects of large-scale immigration. For every foreigner excluded, stated the *Wyoming Labor Journal*, a job was created for workers already here. Others in the state, while not disagreeing with labor's position, stuck to the theme of moral and religious purity. Church groups, educators and many individuals wanted a nation returned to mainstream Protestant fundamentals, a nation unsullied by contamination. This sort of widespread grassroots support, fully seconded by local elites now, led to the first temporary quota law in May, 1921. This law stipulated an annual numerical cap on all immigration, formulated on a 3 percent basis of the census count of 1910. Renewed from year to year so as to give Congress time to consider a permanent quota, this law allowed a total of 350,000 immigrants entry each year. Many nativists saw this law as too lenient, since it recognized and institutionalized the "new" immigration by allowing relatively large quotas for southern and eastern European nations.⁴³

The debate over the nature of a permanent quota gave full evidence of how drastically Wyomingites had changed their views on foreign immigrants since the pre-1914 period. Of the many plans put forward, the most drastic was authored by Representative Albert Johnson of Washington state. The Johnson bill set a quota of 2 percent for each nationality, based on the census of 1890, and set a

ceiling of 150,000 per year for all newcomers. The key was the base year chosen, for it was only *after* that date that the so-called new immigrants came to the United States in large numbers. Johnson's proposal, enacted in 1924, remained the law of the land until 1965. Wyomingites who voiced their views on the issue universally supported the Representative from Washington. Local people believed that nothing less than American nationalism was at stake. If America was to remain true to itself, it had to have a homogeneous population. The best feature of the Johnson bill, according to Senator Warren, was that it would "do away with the admission of a lot of undesirables," especially "Italians and some of the other Latin peoples."⁴⁴ "Latin peoples" might have a niche in the New World, but they were better advised to go to South America because of its familiar race, religion, climate, customs and institutions. There was no place for them in Wyoming. "We are suffering from indigestion of the foreign element in our body politic," said Representative Winter on the floor of the House. Local people had given a resounding endorsement to Johnson's proposal because it gave preference only to "those who descended from the founders and builders of the Republic."⁴⁵

Thus did local attitudes toward the place and worth of foreign immigrants in Wyoming change in the period from 1868 to 1930. Before the start of the war Wyoming's leaders expressed a heady optimism toward the newcomers, confident they would quickly transform themselves into good Americans in their new environment. This mindset quickly shifted after 1914, as foreigners became the lightning rod of discontent for a wide array of local and national problems. Given these new perceptions, it was natural for the local elite to adopt national nativist beliefs with ease and in the process come to the point of view which was already held by many of the state's less articulate inhabitants. An intellectual revolution had occurred in the state.

This case study also indicates an important shift in the self-image of Wyomingites. Their earlier optimism in the West's environment showed the unquestioned desirability—and superiority—of the American way of life. Wyoming's place in this grand world view, if not unique, was of utmost importance. The high, dry plateau that is Wyoming was the near-perfect distillation of all that was possible for newcomers in America. The loss of this self-confidence soon after 1914 was perhaps part of the price paid for the passing of the frontier and melding into the rest of the nation in the 20th century. It surely represents an important part of the watershed which differentiates Wyoming's 19th century history from the century that followed. Wyomingites, like most other Americans, came to fear the new, the different, the unexpected, in preference for the old, the uniform and the accepted. In no way could there be a challenge to accepted dogma. Whether the immigrants were assimilating or not was irrelevant. The point was that

most people in the state believed the newcomers were not giving up their old country ways and did not wish to do so. Wyoming had moved in its value structure from a local optimism and acceptance into the national stream of fear.

Nor did nativism in Wyoming leave much room for diversity. There was one and only one accepted norm of behavior and thought if any individual was to be considered a true son or daughter of the state. There remained

little evidence of the once-common cultural mosaic that characterized the state. The very real pressures for conformity had largely erased the presence of European ethnicity. Nativists won the campaign they launched in 1914, and their strongly anti-foreign and anti-radical tradition would come to dominate the state for the rest of the 20th century.⁴⁶ The victory has been theirs.

1. Compare T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (2nd ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), p. 586; Gordon Olaf Hendrickson, "Immigration and Assimilation in Wyoming," in Hendrickson (ed.), *Peopling the High Plains: Wyoming's European Heritage* (Cheyenne: Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, 1977), p. 188. The standard account of nativism in the United States is John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955). Stanley Coben, "A Study in Nativism: The American Red Scare of 1919-20," *Political Science Quarterly*, 79 (March, 1964): 52-75, is the best examination of the reasons behind the rise of this phenomenon after 1914.
2. E. M. Saltiel and George Barnett, *History and Business Directory of Cheyenne and Guide to the Mining Regions of the Rocky Mountains* (Cheyenne: L. B. Joseph, 1868), p. 105.
3. J. H. Triggs, *History of Cheyenne and Northern Wyoming, Embracing the Gold Fields of the Black Hills, Powder River and Big Horn Countries* (Omaha: Herald Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1876), p. 32; Francis E. Warren to A. D. Hoskins, April 12, 1924, Francis E. Warren Letter-Books, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming (hereafter cited as Warren papers). See also Board of Immigration of the Territory of Wyoming, *The Territory of Wyoming. Its History, Soil, Climate, Resources, Etc.* (Laramie: Daily Sentinel, 1874), p. 44, and *passim*.
4. Donald Hodgson and Vivien Hills, "Dream and Fulfillment: Germans in Wyoming," in Hendrickson (ed.), *Peopling the High Plains*, p. 55, quoting the *Cheyenne Daily Leader*, April 18, 1868; John A. Campbell, "Diary," *Annals of Wyoming*, 10 (April, 1938): 62, 64. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 95, 158-159, 108-110, details the gloomy, stagnant and disappointing nature of economic development for most of the territorial period, giving added urgency to hopes for rapid demographic growth. Bruce Noble, "The Quest for Settlement in Early Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming*, 55 (Fall, 1983): 19-24, and Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 117-119, give the fullest account of early attempts to increase Wyoming's population.
5. Perceptions of the "old" immigrants are found in Barbara Miller Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), pp. 158-161, and *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, 61st Cong., 3rd sess., in *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 54, 115, 120, 129. The imagery of the "new" immigrants, in sharp contrast to earlier arrivals' reception, may be seen in *ibid.*, pp. 115, 129, 169-174.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-83, 127; Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, pp. 163-167, 175.
7. Walter E. Weyl, *The New Democracy: An Essay on Certain Political and Economic Tendencies in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), pp. 68-69, 180; Eliot Norton, "The Diffusion of Immigration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 24 (July-December, 1904): 162-163; Frank P. Sargent, "Problems of Immigration," *ibid.*, pp. 155-156.
8. John W. Hoyt, "Memorial Praying for the Admission of Wyoming into the Union of States," (1889), in Marie H. Erwin, *Wyoming Historical Blue Book: A Legal and Political History of Wyoming, 1868-1943* (Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Co., 1946), p. 658; *ibid.*, p. 649, quoting Warren in a report to the Secretary of the Interior. This strong faith in the power of the environment to Americanize immigrants is also found in "Mountain Influence," *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, 1 (April, 1900): 264; Robert A. Strahorn, *The Hand-Book of Wyoming and Guide to the Black Hills and Big Horn Regions, for Citizen, Emigrant and Tourist* (Cheyenne: [Chicago: Knight & Leonard], 1877), p. 109; *Wyoming Farmer* (Sundance), March 13, 1889.
9. Elmer E. Smiley, "Higher Education in Wyoming," *Proceedings of the Wyoming Industrial Convention Held at Laramie, December 11 and 12, 1901* (Laramie: Chaplin, Spafford and Mathison, 1902), p. 77. Ted Olson, *Ranch on the Laramie* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), pp. 47-48, gives the reminiscences of one immigrant's son who reacted negatively to the strong assimilationist stress of Wyoming's educators. See also John T. Buchanan, "How to Assimilate the Foreign Element in our Population," *Forum*, 32 (February, 1902): 691, for another strong statement on the value of education in re-shaping the values of immigrant children.
10. *Wyoming Farmer* (Sundance), November 28, 1888; *Laramie Weekly Sentinel*, January 19, 1884; *Cheyenne State Leader*, February 25 and March 3, 1911; Earl Stinneford, "Mines and Miners: The Eastern Europeans in Wyoming," in Hendrickson (ed.), *Peopling the High Plains*, p. 132; *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, 2 (August, 1900): 63-64.
11. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 141-142; Thomas Arthur Krueger, "Populism in Wyoming," (Master of Arts Thesis in History, University of Wyoming, 1960), p. 46; Lewis L. Gould, *Wyoming: A Political History, 1868-1896* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 207-211; Donald L. Kinzer, *An Episode in Anti-Catholicism: The American Protective Association* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), pp. 89-90, 178, 254, 255-257. Wyoming's memorial to Congress is documented in *Senate Journal of the Third State Legislature of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Daily Sun Book Print, 1895), pp. 481, 515; *House Journal of the Third State Legislature of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: Daily Sun, 1895), pp. 4, 288, 488. The *Congressional Record*, December 9, 1895, p. 58, contains a copy of the memorial.

12. Wyoming Territory, *Journal and Debates of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Wyoming* (Cheyenne: The Daily Sun Book and Job Printing, 1893), pp. 375, 377, 393 (quote). Examples of manipulation of the foreign-born at the polls are given in Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 241, 293-294.
13. *Revised Statutes of Wyoming*. In Force December 1, 1899 (Laramie: Chaplin, Spafford & Mathison, 1899), pp. 683-684; Roy L. Garis, *Immigration Restriction: A Study of the Opposition to and Regulation of Immigration into the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), pp. 90-93.
14. Roger D. Hardaway, "Prohibiting Interracial Marriage: Miscegenation Laws in Wyoming," *Annals of Wyoming*, 52 (Spring, 1980): 55-57.
15. *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming* (Chicago: A. W. Bowen & Co., 1903), pp. 189-190, 322-323; Erwin, *Wyoming Blue Book*, pp. 644, 645, 647. One is struck by the large number of foreign-born inhabitants who quickly rose to local prominence in the pre-World War I period. Examples abound in, among others, *Progressive Men of the State of Wyoming*; Ichabod S. Bartlett, *History of Wyoming* (3 vols.; Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918); George C. Scott, "Those God Forsaken Dobie Hills: Land Law and the Settlement of Bates Hole, Wyoming, 1880-1940," (Master of Arts Thesis in History, University of Wyoming, 1978).
16. Message of Governor Joseph M. Carey to the State Legislature, January 12, 1911, in *House Journal of the Eleventh State Legislature of Wyoming* (Laramie: The Laramie Republican Company, 1911), p. 31; Carey to S. S. Pearlstone, May 5, 1913, Carey papers, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, file number 646, where Carey calls immigration "the best work ever undertaken for the people of Wyoming;" Harry Green, General Director of the American Immigration and Distribution League, to Carey, February 23, 1912, file number 3698, *ibid.*, (quote); Green to Carey, March 21, 1912 and June 24, 1914, file numbers 3693 and 3387, *ibid.* Governor Bryant B. Brooks to Frank P. Sargeant, U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration, July 9, 1907, Brooks papers, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne, file number 267; Patrick Carolan, Secretary of the Split Ticket Association, to Brooks, October 8 and 19, 1906, *ibid.*, file number 699 (hereafter referred to as Brooks papers). Other examples of strong support for immigration are in *Cheyenne State Leader*, February 12, 1911; S. Conant Parks, "The Beet Sugar Industry," *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, 6 (November, 1904): 129; editorial in *ibid.*, 8 (October, 1906): 17, supporting a *Sheridan Post* call for a state bureau of immigration. The high concentration of immigrants in eastern urban areas may be seen in Walter F. Willcox, "Distribution of Immigrants in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 20 (August, 1906): 523-546.
17. Bosler to James C. Craig, February 4, 1911, Frank Bosler papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming; Bosler to Arie Binkhorst, January 23, 1911, *ibid.*; Robert P. Fuller to Bosler, December 20, 1910, *ibid.*; William Monfort to Bosler, June 10, 1911, *ibid.*; *Cheyenne State Leader*, January 29, 1911; *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, April 30, 1910. For early 20th century hopes for farming and population growth see C. A. Parks, "The Campbell System of Agriculture," *Wyoming Industrial Journal*, 3 (January, 1903): 178; V. T. Cooke to Brooks, [undated], 1908, Brooks papers, file number 35. William Hewitt's "Changing Perceptions of Agriculture in the Cowboy State: Wyoming Farming Before World War I," Ph.D. dissertation in History, University of Wyoming, 1984, is the most extensive treatment of this failed agricultural experiment.
18. Brooks to Sargeant, July 9, 1907, Brooks papers, file number 267; Wyoming State Board of Immigration, *Biennial Report*, 1911-1912 (Cheyenne: S. A. Bristol Co., 1912), pp. 47-48, 57; Hewitt, "Changing Perceptions," p. 125. One of the fruits of the combined state-federal campaign which was translated into several foreign languages is Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Division of Information, *Agricultural Opportunities: Information Concerning Resources, Products, and Physical Characteristics of the Western States (Northern Group), Comprising Montana, Wyoming, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon, and the Territory of Alaska* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912).
19. *Report of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. 25, part 3: *Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States*, 61st Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), pp. 279-280, 292; Olson, *Ranch on the Laramie*, pp. 80-81.
20. Kendrick to Malcolm Moncrieffe, February 12, 1917, John B. Kendrick papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming (hereafter cited as Kendrick papers); Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order, A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 11-13, gives a succinct account of these turn-of-the-century concerns on the national level. William Howard Moore's "Progressivism and the Social Gospel in Wyoming: The Antigambling Act of 1901 as a Test Case," *Western Historical Quarterly*, 15 (July, 1984): 299-316, is the only account of these pre-war tensions in the state of Wyoming.
21. David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 24 (quote), 24-27. See also "The Hyphen Must Go," *North American Review*, 203 (March, 1916): 343-344. The growing sense of danger to the status quo, largely inchoate in Wyoming before 1914, doubtlessly was responsible in part for the reinstitution in 1913 of earlier laws which outlawed miscegenation: Hardaway, "Prohibiting Interracial Marriage," pp. 57-58. Legislative efforts in 1913 drew almost no criticism, a sharp departure from the climate of opinion when these laws were repealed in 1882.
22. *The Census of the State of Wyoming*, 1915 (Cheyenne: Wyoming Labor Journal Publishing Company, 1915), *passim*; *Rock Springs Rocket*, February 5, 1915, May 23, 1916, February 9, 1917. The latter editorial is reprinted from the *Salt Lake Tribune*.
23. *Casper Record*, February 23, 1915; *Sheridan Post*, June 16, 1916; *Laramie Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, September 27, 1915, reprinting an editorial from the *Denver Express*. See also *Semi-Weekly Boomerang*, December 9, 1915, January 10, February 3, August 3 (reprinting an editorial from the *Kemmerer Camera*), and October 5, 1916, for similar views.
24. Dale A. Poeske, "Wyoming in World War I," (Master of Arts Thesis in History, University of Wyoming, 1968), *passim*; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 400-401; *Douglas Budget and Converse County Review*, August 9, 1917.
25. Timothy J. Lyons, "Hollywood and World War I, 1914-18," *Journal of Popular Film*, 1 (Winter, 1972): 22-23; Hawley, *The Great War*, pp. 27-30; Kennedy, *Over Here*, pp. 53-63, 67-69; Garis, *Immigration Restriction*, pp. 229-239. "Proofs" of immigrant inferiority are documented in Hamilton Cravens, *The Triumph of Evolution: American Scientists and the Heredity-Environment Controversy, 1900-1941* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), pp. 78ff., and their widespread dissemination in William A. Satariano, "Immigration and the Popularization of Social Science, 1900 to 1930," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 15 (October, 1979): 314-317.
26. *Sheridan Post*, April 12, 1918 (first quote), November 23, 1917 (second quote); Frank Mondell, "My Story: An Autobiography by Frank Wheeler Mondell," 4 vols. in typescript, Mondell papers, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming, III, p. 610 (hereafter cited as Mondell papers); *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 1, 1917, reprinting an editorial from the *Wyoming Labor Journal*.
27. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, September 4, 1917 (quote), reprinting an editorial from the *Philadelphia Ledger*; *Sheridan Post*, November 13, 1917; see also *Daily Boomerang*, April 5, October 23, 1917, February 7, March 13, April 10, and June 15, 1918, for a representative sampling of opinion on the dangers of the foreign presence. Ross put forth the notion of "race suicide" in his "Causes of Race Superiority," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 18 (July, 1901): 67-89.

28. Houx is quoted in Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, p. 194; Harrison C. Dale, *What We Are Fighting For. An Address Delivered Before the Laramie One Hundred Percent American Club on Lincoln's Birthday*, 1918 (Laramie: n.p., 1918), p. 1; Douglas Budget and Converse County Review, December 13, 1917. "William F. Hamilton," in Bartlett, *History of Wyoming*, II, pp. 214-216, gives another example of a participant in Douglas' One Hundred Percent Americanism movement. The temper of the times is further revealed by events during the 1918 gubernatorial race. Democrats charged that Republican candidate Robert D. Carey was under the undue influence of German-born Fred J. Wiedeke, one of Carey's employees: Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 403.
29. John D. Hicks, *Rehearsal for Disaster: The Boom and Collapse of 1919-1920* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), pp. 67-81; Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), passim; George Soule, "Radicalism," in Harold E. Stearns (ed.), *Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry by Thirty Americans* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922), pp. 275-276.
30. Labor strife, with no recognition of its significance, is found in Erma A. Fletcher, "A History of the Labor Movement in Wyoming, 1870-1940," (Master of Arts Thesis in Economics and Sociology, University of Wyoming, 1945), pp. 81-86, 93-94, 110-112. See also Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 411-413.
31. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth State Legislature of Wyoming* (Laramie: Laramie Republican Company, 1919), pp. 12, (quote), 310; Stinneford, "Eastern Europeans," p. 133.
32. Address of Mrs. Mondell to the National Society of the Children of the American Revolution, April 17, 1923, Mondell papers, file 22; *Casper Daily Tribune*, April 25, 1924; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Seventeenth State Legislature of Wyoming* (Sheridan and Casper: The Mills Company, 1923), p. 25; Wyoming State Board of Immigration, *Third Biennial Report, 1921-1923* (Sheridan: The Mills Company, 1923), p. 4; Mary N. Brooks to Grace Raymond Hebard, December 8, 1930, in Bryant B. Brooks vertical file, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.
33. David M. Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), p. 221; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, pp. 455, 457; Stinneford, "Eastern Europeans," pp. 134-135; Records of the Secretary of State, Inactive Corporation Records, "Women of the Ku Klux Klan," December 8, 1924, corporation number 30874, Wyoming State Archives, Cheyenne.
34. Roger L. Williams, *Aven Nelson of Wyoming* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1984), p. 226 (quote); Cora M. Beach, *Women of Wyoming* (2 vols.; Casper: S. E. Boyer & Company, 1927), I, p. 490.
35. Nate P. Wilson, State Game Warden, to Kendrick, March 16, 1915, Kendrick papers; *Sheridan Post*, April 16, 1918; *Wyoming Revised Statutes, 1931* (Casper: S. E. Boyer & Company, 1931), p. 591.
36. Milton R. Konvitz, *The Alien and Asiatic in American Law* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1946), pp. 200, 203-204.
37. *Laramie Daily Boomerang*, October 23, 1916; *Sheridan Post*, September 14, 1917; Beach, *Women of Wyoming*, I, p. 122; *Biennial Report of the State Department of Education of Wyoming, 1918-1920* (Sheridan: The Mills Company, 1920), p. 40. The best general account of this part of nativism is Edward George Hartmann, *The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

Whether before or after 1914, it is abundantly clear that the vast majority of immigrants, whatever their origins, responded wholeheartedly to opportunities for Americanization. That was why they had left their original homelands in the first place. To give only one example here of what was common in Wyoming, 43 Greek-born workers who were employed by the Union Pacific Coal Company as miners in Reliance organized an Americanization School in 1921. They sought and obtained local, volunteer help for their efforts. Teachers donated time to lead classes in the principles of citizenship.

The Union Pacific Coal Company underwrote expenses incurred in using a local school house: *Rock Springs Rocket*, February 4, 1921. Hendrickson (ed.), *Peopling the High Plains*, passim, and Gladys Powelson Jones, "Cheyenne, Cheyenne, . . ." *Our Blue-Collar Heritage* (Cheyenne: author, 1983), pp. 89-90, also discuss this commitment of the immigrants. It is ironic, and yet telling that local nativists chose to ignore the newcomers' desire to assimilate. There is perhaps no better evidence of the near-hysterical intensity of nativism in the Cowboy State and Wyomingites' loss of faith in what they had to offer immigrants, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, after 1914.

38. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth State Legislature of Wyoming* (Laramie: Laramie Republican Company, 1919), p. 12 (quote).
39. *Biennial Report of the State Department of Education, 1918-1920*, pp. 39-40; *Biennial Report, 1921-1922*, pp. 56-57; *Biennial Report, 1928-1930*, p. 133; *Biennial Report, 1930-1932*, p. 133.
40. Voting records of the three men on immigration restriction may be seen in *Congressional Record*, January 17, 1898, p. 689; December 18, 1912, p. 5023; February 4, 1915, p. 3078.

Party discipline was reinforced by the geography of national politics. Wyoming's congressmen spent much of their time in the East, where sharp concern over immigration ran high. Moreover, Warren was greatly influenced by the views of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the pre-eminent Republican spokesman for immigration restriction beginning in the 1890s. Warren, for example, initially supported entry into the League of Nations, saying in an interview in Cheyenne in August, 1919, that the League offered a good chance to avoid another war. Back in Washington in October, under the sway of Lodge and mindful of the benefits of party discipline, Warren opposed American participation in the League.

The only exception to this general voting pattern occurred in 1917 when Warren and Clark, but not Mondell, voted to sustain Wilson's veto of the literacy test. Warren's correspondence gives no reason for this departure from his past behavior, but it is probable that he, and presumably Clark, had more pressing international issues in mind. An important advocate of military preparedness and a staunch supporter of peace, Warren feared repercussions with Japan, since certain provisions of the 1917 law gratuitously restated Japanese exclusion from the United States (*Congressional Record*, February 15, 1917, p. 2629). Earlier, in 1916, Warren opposed Philippine independence for fear that Japan would then try to annex the islands. As late as 1924, Warren expressed qualms about the Immigration Act of 1924, which on the whole he strongly supported, because of the law's restatement, again, of Japanese exclusion at a time when the world's powers were attempting to limit naval armaments: Warren to P.C. Spencer, April 25, 1924, Warren papers; *Congressional Record*, February 1, 1917, p. 2457; Wesley Donald Bowen, "The Congressional Career of Senator Francis E. Warren, 1912-1920," (Master of Arts Thesis in History, University of Wyoming, 1949), pp. 28-31, 47-48, 56-69, 73-77, 85, 97.

41. The increasingly restrictive nature of federal immigration legislation and the political difficulties in achieving it are best traced in Higham, *Strangers in the Land*.
42. Undated clipping from *Chicago Tribune* in Mondell scrapbook number 16, April, 1921-June, 1922, Mondell papers (first quote); Mondell, "My Story," IV, p. 781 (second quote); *Casper Daily Tribune*, January 21, 1921, and February 21, 1924; *Rock Springs Rocket*, June 3, 1921 (third quote).
43. Garis, *Immigration Restriction*, pp. 142-168, gives a good, although biased, account of the political battle to implement a quota system. Wyoming opinion may be sampled in *Wyoming Labor Journal*, March 14, 1924; John R. Quinn, "America and Immigration," *ibid.*; Warren to Grace Raymond Hebard, April 11, 1924; Warren to Mrs. R. G. Dunlap, April 12, 1924; Warren to Reverend R. H. Moorman, April 10, 1924, Warren papers.

44. Warren to M. P. Wheeler, April 21, 1924; Warren to Lovell Commercial Club, January 30, 1924 (quotes), Warren papers. Warren, caught up in the nativist tide of the 1920s and knowing he had the full backing of his fellow Wyomingites, wrote to Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan Hiram W. Evans that the Klan's diatribe against Latins and Slavs, *The Menace of Modern Immigration*, had "much good food for thought" in it: Warren to Evans, December 20, 1923, Warren papers.
45. Winter is quoted in the *Casper Daily Tribune*, April 25, 1924; see also *ibid.*, May 20, 1921, February 21, 23, and April 1, 1924; Kendrick immigration correspondence in box 17 of the Kendrick papers. Many of the more than 100 letters were sent to Kendrick as part of an orchestrated campaign organized in Cheyenne to support the Johnson bill. Smug satisfaction over passage of the Johnson bill, the natural culmination of changing Wyoming perceptions on the presence of foreign immigrants, is in *Casper Daily Tribune*, February 3, 1924; *Laramie Republic Boomerang*, May 26, 1924; *Greybull Standard and Tribune*, October 17, 1924; Warren to M. C. Brown, April 21, 1924, and to M. P. Wheeler, April 22, 1924, Warren papers.
46. For example, Statement of Commissioner Alan K. Simpson in *Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy and the National Interest* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1981), pp. 407-419; William Hewitt, "The University of Wyoming Textbook Investigation Controversy, 1947 to 1948 and Its Aftermath," *Annals of Wyoming*, 56 (Spring, 1984): 22-23; Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 451.



AMH PHOTO

Single Women Homesteaders *In Wyoming, 1880-1930*

by
Paula M. Bauman



The Homestead Act has been called one of the great democratic measures of world history.¹ Women had the opportunity to homestead, because the act made no discrimination towards sex. Single women took this opportunity offered to them and did homestead in the state of Wyoming. It is important to explore motives, the means by which they obtained land, the typical life of women homesteaders, the status of the women once the certificate had been granted and what became of the land once a certificate had been granted.

During a special session of Congress, Representative Aldrich of Minnesota introduced a homestead bill in the House of Representatives and on May 17, 1862, the Homestead Act became a reality when President Lincoln signed the bill. The Homestead Act specified the qualifications for a homestead as:

. . . any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who shall have filed his declaration of intentions to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States Government . . . shall be entitled to one quarter section.²

Homestead land became available not only to a man over 21 and head of his family, but to a single woman over 21 and head of her family, because of the term, "person." For the purpose of clarity, "single" women are defined as women who have no husband. Some were unmarried, some widows, some divorcees and some even runaway wives.

In order to apply for homestead land, individuals were required to include the information of the exact section, township, range and meridian. Thus, for example, Agnes M. Teusdale, of Laramie County, filled out an application numbered 2491, which involved the land legally described as the "Northwest quarter, Section 28, Township 20, North of Range 60, West of the Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres."³ As of January, 1863, the person applying for homestead land received one quarter section of land, or 160 acres. If the applicant wanted less than one quarter section, (80 acres), or less of unappropriated lands, then the land went for \$2.50 an acre with the requirement that the land be surveyed first.

Congress stated homesteaders would have a set period of time in which to make improvements (prove up) on their land. Consequently, five years from the date of entry, the applicant who proved up became entitled to a patent to his or her homestead. During these five years, the applicant built a shelter and made improvements on the land. The applicant could not change place of residence or abandon the said land for more than six months at any given time. Those who abandoned the homestead lost all rights to said land.⁴ The Homestead Act further stated that,

. . . said person may have filed a preemption claim, or which at the time the application is made subject to preemption at one dollar and twenty-five cents or less, per acre; or eighty acres or less of unappropriated lands, at two dollars and fifty cents per acre, . . .⁵

This meant any person who had the means could pay the required amount at a greater sum of money than ordinarily would be required. Congress concluded if a homesteader fulfilled all of the required provisions prior to the time allowed for proving up, then the homesteader "who has availed him or herself of the benefits of the first section" of the Homestead Act could pay "the minimum price, or the same price to which the same may have graduated, for the quantity of land" before the five years had expired.⁶ In Laramie County, from 1890 to 1908, fifteen out of 21 single women homesteaders received their certificates before their five year deadline, paying the minimum price for their land. Thirteen out of the fifteen completed the requirements in two years or less. (See Appendix A)

Before the Homestead Act, the principles of land policy had been governed by various preemption acts. Between 1804 and 1841, more than sixteen acts passed granting rights to squatters. Congress felt these acts "threatened the principal of revenue return for the public domain."⁷ The Preemption Act of 1841 allowed "any squatter on unclaimed land" the right "when the land was surveyed and came up for auction" to "exercise the first preemption laws" by having first option at buying the land.⁸

Within a decade, Congress realized the Homestead Act was inconclusive in that the act did not appropriately apply towards conditions in the West. Therefore, the Timber Culture Act of 1873 allowed a person to receive 160 acres free by paying the same fees as the Homestead Act. In order to claim 160 acres under the Timber Culture Act, one had to plant and keep growing 40 acres of trees for eight years. Originally, Congress felt that the prairie states could benefit from this legislation. In actuality, lack of water discouraged many homesteaders from utilizing this act.⁹ By 1890, all the most desirable farm land had been homesteaded. People on the western prairies realized the remaining land could not be treated the same as the land in eastern America. In the remaining arid and semi-arid lands, 160 acres of land did not provide a living for a homesteader trying to raise a dryland crop. Consequently, 320 acres became available to a homesteader for bare sub-

sistence when an amendment to the Homestead Act, the Mondell Revisory Law of 1909, passed.¹⁰

By 1912, the lawmakers concluded that the five years required on a homestead caused discouraged homesteaders to admit defeat. The Homestead Act originated as a means of disposing excess Public Lands and at the same time earning a revenue. Hence, further leniency by Congress in 1912 lowered the residency requirement from five to three years, and permitted an absence of five months each year. This popularized homesteading for women. The majority of women filed their homestead claims after the residency dropped from five years to three years and after more land was awarded to the homesteaders.¹¹

Along with the Homestead Act, many other acts helped homesteaders in obtaining ownership of property in the West. The Desert Land Act might have applied to any homestead on the western plains. Passed by Congress on March 3, 1877, it stated the applicant must be a resident of the United States and of legal age, (21 years old). The land would be sold at 25¢ an acre and not exceeding one section of land to any one person. A water system must be installed on the land within three years after filing, providing that the right to this water for the 640 acres followed bona fide prior appropriation laws. Within three years after filing the claim, an individual had to pay an additional one dollar per acre to the land office for the full possession of the land.¹² One who apparently took advantage of the Desert Land Act, Florence Blake Smith of north-eastern Wyoming stated,

I was now a homesteader in the West, and a potential owner of six hundred and forty acres of Wyoming. The wonder of possession, the joy of looking out over one's land, thinking on the dear dead Pioneer's toil and sweat to at least acquire one hundred and sixty acres, and here was I with six hundred and forty, an entire square mile.¹³

An amendment to the Desert Land Act, called the Carey Act, aided two women in Worland to obtain homestead land. Mary Culbertson and Helen Coburn Howell decided to homestead in Wyoming in that area of Wyoming because of their fathers' interests in the Hanover Canal Irrigation Project.¹⁴ Under the Carey Act, the Board of Land Commissioners and the state engineer studied detailed assignments as to the feasibility proposals for irrigation works advanced by individuals or companies and to make contracts when projects appeared sound. The state charged the settler 50¢ per acre, and the private contractors charged \$20 or more per acre for water rights. States could not sell or dispose of more than 160 acres of these lands to any one person. Ultimately, the Desert Land Act made land available to enterprising homesteaders. Homesteaders such as Culbertson and Howell used the Desert Act in order to settle land previously arid and unusable.¹⁵

Utilizing land laws, each head of a family could take 160 acres free under the Homestead Act of 1862, another 160 free under the Timber Culture Act of 1873, another 160 at \$1.25 per acre under the Preemption Act of 1841 and

640 acres at \$1.25 per acre under the Desert Land Act of 1877.¹⁶ Curiously, most of the women homesteaders, with a few exceptions, did not take advantage of these other land acts. All of the 79 women homesteaders in Laramie County, between March 25, 1896, to February 16, 1917, used only the Homestead Act to obtain free land from the United States Government.¹⁷

While the opportunity to obtain 160 free acres brought many young, single women to the agricultural frontier, the other reasons are as varied as the women's individual backgrounds. Some took up homestead claims simply to add to their husbands', fathers' or brothers' holdings. Others, especially single women, intended to work their claims themselves.¹⁸ Single women homesteaders had many different motives for homesteading. They included adventure and fun, hunting a husband, financial security, independence and equal rights or seeking an alternative to the reduced opportunities of more settled regions.¹⁹

Helen Coburn Howell could be classified as an adventurous homesteader. She and Mary Culbertson took out adjoining claims. "Mrs. Culbertson and I lived together in great harmony the necessary time to prove up, she sleeping on her side of the line that divided our property and I on mine," Howell recalled.²⁰

Many other women saw the opportunity differently. They perceived homesteading as a means to earn a dowry and help out a future husband. To a woman seeking a husband, the male/female ratio on the plains was attractive. Men greatly outnumbered the women.²¹ Natrona County had 52 women homesteaders. Seventeen of these married between receiving their homestead patent and homestead certificate. (See Appendix B, Table III) In Campbell County, Luella Moyer had decided to come West to marry after taking out a homestead. She later remembered,

At that time there was very little deeded land in Campbell County, and a hundred and sixty acres was all one person could take. If a man and woman were to be married and the man had proved up on his homestead, the woman could take hers and be married the next day. Later this rule was changed, and the woman had to live on her homestead for a year before they were married.²²

Some women did not intend to settle permanently but rather hoped to establish their claims and then sell out to neighboring farmers. They would then return to their small towns or to the city with a nest egg. Contemporary letters and diaries by homesteading women verify that some young women intended to exploit their claims to earn money for their ventures.²³ Some schoolmarms became homesteaders after they viewed the economic gain that enterprise might offer. Minnie Hidy, Bessie Fox and Blanche Lyons, all schoolteachers from Laramie County, took out homestead claims to aid local ranchers in keeping their ranches intact. These women sold their properties immediately to the stockmen at a nice profit.²⁴

Dr. Bessie Fell decided to homestead on the Western plains because of the financial security of owning land. From Merville, Iowa, the 34 year-old medical doctor had

suffered a financial loss in the 1907 panic. Her loss had been so large that when she arrived in southeastern Wyoming with her three orphaned nieces, she had only 75¢ in her pocket.²⁵

Homesteading offered a peculiar challenge to women to achieve equal rights, since "free land" did not discriminate against male or female homesteaders. Men and women "were appallingly equal—equal labor, equal privation and equal failure—or victory."²⁶ Even practiced farmers failed, however. Statistically, only one in three women managed to remain long enough to get deeds to their farms. At the age of 52, Emma Peterson decided to try once more to gain her economic independence and her rights. From a large family, she had married at fourteen and by age nineteen had become a widow. Undaunted, Peterson started a very successful millinery shop until she remarried a second time. She did not mind forfeiting her independence for a husband. After fifteen years, the marriage ended in the death of her husband. The opportunity available to her through the Homestead Act made her realize that by gaining land, she would never have to be totally dependent upon another human being.²⁷

Women, seeking an alternative to the reduced opportunities of a more settled region, were usually divorced, widowed or runaway wives. One such wife was Mary O'Kieffe. One day in 1884, at the age of 43, fed up with her "ne'er-do-well" husband, she decided to file a homestead claim in western Nebraska on land similar

topographically to eastern Wyoming.²⁸ According to her son Charley, Mary O'Kieffe was disappointed, discouraged, but never completely broken. The woman had dreams of a better life somewhere and hoped to end her unhappy existence by starting over in a new country with freedom.²⁹ She had the older children assist her in building a cover on the farm wagon, hitched up the work horses and tied the milk cows to the wagon sides. To the rear of the wagon she attached the cultivator and on top of that she built a small chicken coop to hold her two dozen hens and a rooster. The journey from their farm on the Missouri River to the new homestead was a distance of about 500 miles. After many adventures on the 51-day journey they arrived, built a sod house, dug a well and set up house-keeping in their new home.³⁰

Another woman seeking an alternative was Vesta Keen. In 1911, she came to homestead land in northeastern Colorado near the Wyoming border. At 33 years of age, Keen was alone, as she liked not having a man complicate her life. Part Cherokee, Keen had become weary of some of the niceties associated with women's lives in the East. She wanted to ride astride, and had heard women in the West had long ago abandoned side saddles. Knowing women had been voting for many years in the West, she longed to express her opinions at the polls.³¹

Elinore Pruitt serves as an example of a woman with inter-connected motives for homesteading. A widowed mother who wanted to escape her past lifestyle, she

*Isolation discouraged
some homesteaders*



cleaned house and did laundry to support herself and her young daughter in a dismal apartment in Denver. Pruitt had grown up on a farm and found her existence in Denver difficult. She longed to escape "the rattle and bang, the glare and soot, the smells and the hurry" of city life to "the sweet, free open" area of the country.³² Acting on the advice of her minister, she advertised for a position as a housekeeper to a rancher in the hope she could start a homestead site. Consequently, Pruitt found herself as housekeeper to Clyde Stewart, "a Scottish cattle rancher who spoke with a burr as thick as his wrist and played a bagpipe to cheer his bachelor solitude, sixty miles from the railroad at Burnt Fork."³³

Some women came West to visit homesteading relatives and decided to stay and settle on their own claims. Divorced Fredericka Deike came West to see her brothers. During her visit, she decided that owning a homestead near Burns would be an excellent opportunity. Women's motives for homesteading varied, but universally they valued the "free land" they would receive in order to better themselves economically. The vastness and unbroken land of the plains had a particular appeal for women normally not accustomed to feelings of individuality and power.³⁴

Homesteading a piece of land required making many ingenious plans. One needed to obtain money and work hard to make improvements on the land the Homestead Act required. Florence Blake Smith observed that "free land" was costly:

There would be filing fees, locating fees, transportation, price of lumber to build the required habitable house. Also, it seemed, one had to buy posts for fencing and the wire to string between them, all of which added to a prohibitive sum by the mile. Then on necessity you had to eat to live, of course, during the slow process of homesteading.³⁵

In order to begin, prospective homesteaders obtained information on land available to them through many different sources, including land agents, newspaper articles, government documents and friends or relatives. Sometimes the necessary information proved costly. Smith used the services of a land agent to obtain her northeastern Wyoming homestead. She worked for the Federal Reserve Bank in Chicago and had become intrigued when a man told her about homesteading. She paid \$100 for the relinquishment and about \$25 for her filing fees, the usual for homesteading. By using the services of a land agent, Smith paid an additional cost of \$100 for the locating fee.³⁶ Another example of a woman using a land agent is Ellen R. Lathan. Lathan had John D. Simpson assign her a homestead. He allotted her the Southeast quarter of Southwest quarter of Section 7, in Township 18, North of Range 70, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing 40 acres. (See Appendix A) On another occasion, Emma Peterson, in 1919, read about an oil boom at Newcastle, where land was also available for homesteading, but she could not afford the locating fee.³⁷ Unfor-



A milk cow meant butter on the table to this woman.

tunately, some homesteaders often painted a rosy picture to entice others to the West. Those who responded soon became a part of a kind of conspiracy and practiced the same tactics on other friends and relatives.³⁸ As previously noted, Fredericka Deike was one example.

The government allowed six months from filing date to establishment of residence. This provision allowed homesteaders to return home to prepare necessary arrangements. Florence Blake Smith took advantage of this opportunity and returned home to her banking job in Chicago until the time came for her to leave for Wyoming. Upon her return, her co-workers "hailed" her "as a heroine, an adventuress, a *land-owner*."³⁹ The small town Smith picked did not look far on a map from Chicago, but actually she traveled 1400 miles west, a journey of over two and a half days by train. Good friends stopped by frequently to bring her something to wear out on the prairie. The items included riding boots, a pair of heavy breeches, a pair of rubber boots, a slicker and heavy woolen pajamas. Smith's mother furnished her with two yellow plates, cups and saucers to match and a pale blue-checked tablecloth. Smith took a little solid-walnut kitchen table, a sanitary cot, two stout kitchen chairs, a small low rocker and a regulation sheep wagon stove. These constituted her housegoods. She used her bread can and the wooden boxes in which she had shipped her canned goods for extra stools if needed. Along with the furniture, she brought



Nine by twelve feet . . .

dainty dotted Swiss curtains, plus a few pictures from her old room back in Chicago.⁴⁰ Smith used a portable garage as her new home, which measured,

nine by twelve feet . . . It was just the size of our living room rug at home, and many's the night I spent moving the furniture inside of it, to acquaint myself with the size of my humble "Shack" to be, in the West. It could be easily assembled by a woman. Or so I was told by the affable man who sold it to me. A generous number of nuts, bolts, and screws had been included to prove his points and to provide complications for "putter-upper."⁴¹

Some women homesteaders, however, did not have the help of relatives and friends. A destitute widow on the Platte River, Mrs. Townsend, took out a claim and as most newcomers, could not afford to bring lumber from the mountains for a dwelling. She did not have the strength to cut or lift the three-foot-long sod "bricks" to build a soddy, as most of the homcomers did. But she dug dirt out of a sand hill bluff, about eight to ten feet high, and cleared a tiny six-by-eight foot room. She wedged poles across the top to make a roof that slanted down over the front of the dugout, and she built a front wall and door with scraps of wood and junk. Grass and dirt piled on top kept out the worst weather, but rain always leaked into the little shelter, and dirt constantly sifted down. Perhaps that did not matter, since the floor and walls were also dirt. In that hole in the ground, she lived like a human prairie dog.⁴²

A woman usually had the help of others when time came to build her house, harvest her crops or any other heavy outdoor chores. Usually women hired men to do the harder jobs, as did Florence Blake Smith. In order to make improvements Smith "hired a man to plow and seed forty acres of wheat."⁴³ Mary Culbertson and Helen Coburn Howell, also "employed a man and his son to do the heavy work—the fence-making, farming, and outside chores."⁴⁴ Culbertson and Howell shared the housework, cooked, ate together and regarded their life on their homesteads as a high adventure, but as they stated, "We took our work seriously . . . however . . . we were far from idle ourselves."⁴⁵

Surviving on a homestead seemed like a costly endeavor for most single women. Food prices skyrocketed in the West where the coffee was 65 cents per pound, butter 80 cents, ham 60 cents, sugar 17 cents, flour \$3.75 for a 25-pound sack, eggs 45 cents a dozen and milk 15 cents a quart.⁴⁶ Consequently, in the rural West, women held jobs as teachers, doctors and midwives, laborers and any other work they could do to raise money. The teaching profession promised the most to a young single woman who came west. Inspired by Catherine Beecher, a pioneer teacher, writer on moral religious topics and an avid speaker for women's education, many young women in the East went to the agricultural frontier as teachers. Such an occupation also fell well within the confines of appropriate female behavior. The female teacher, Beecher

noted, can "discern before her the road to honorable independence and extensive usefulness where she need not outstep the prescribed boundaries of feminine modesty."⁴⁷ Many took the opportunity teaching gave them to earn extra money. Helen Coburn Howell, of Worland, taught as did other homesteaders Hazle J. Pence, Minnie Hidy, Bessie Fox and Blanche Lyons.⁴⁸ On the other hand, Dr. Bessie Fell, from Carpenter, supplemented her income as a physician in order to live on her homestead. She inherited a medical territory covering more than a 30 mile radius. People often saw her in her horse and buggy out on call at all hours of the day.⁴⁹ If a doctor could not be found, however, homesteaders found themselves doing tasks originally intended for doctors. Elinore Pruitt Stewart had to nurse her own newborn baby, Jamie, when he became ill "as there had been no physician to help."⁵⁰

Women took on any other jobs that became available to them. Housekeeping helped many women to live another year on their homestead. Edna Norris Eaton took advantage of the opportunity to housekeep. Following her husband's death she sold their ranch and filed on a homestead near Recluse. A son lived on this homestead with her for a few months, helping to build her log cabin and make other improvements, before marrying and going to Sundance to live. Alone on the homestead, Eaton found employment for several years as housekeeper for Judge and Mrs. Raymond of Newcastle.⁵¹ Additional acceptable occupations women could pursue in order to raise money

to help them make improvements on their land included sewing, cooking, laundry and other domestic work. During the time each year that Hattie A. Olsen of Albin could legally be absent from her homestead, she found employment at St. John's Hospital in Cheyenne. An excellent seamstress, she sewed for women and children of the Albin community.⁵² Florence Blake Smith realized she would be needing money to tide her over while she made improvements on her property. Hence, she kept her bank job in Chicago, but took a seven month leave each year. Every spring, after taking the train back to Wyoming, Smith would look for temporary jobs until the weather permitted her to return to her homestead. She found work in a restaurant making "eight dollars in salary and five dollars in tips" per week.⁵³ At this time, her temporary job provided an adequate extra income. Later, when offered a job as a stenographer with a local attorney, Smith felt that, "good fortune was mine."⁵⁴ In this position, she earned \$25 a week.⁵⁵ On the whole, women applied their abilities in many diverse ways in order to make extra money. This need for supplemental support was only one of the many problems in homesteading the free land.

Teaching school was within the confines of appropriate female behavior and offered a supplemental income to women homesteaders.





Life on the homestead was hard and lonely, even for the most determined idealistic individual. Dr. Bessie Fell emphasized, "In a new country getting established was not only a hard and continuous battle against cold, hunger, fire, and other physical hardships, but an even more difficult struggle against discouragement, frustrations, and gloom."⁵⁶ One had to be a druggist, postmistress, cook, mother and a doctor. One had to be imaginative and creative. When Dr. Fell's house was too drafty, she filled up the walls with rocks in order to insulate the house from Wyoming winds. Dr. Fell contended:

All pioneers are idealists and enthusiasts. If they were not, they would never had the urge or the courage to leave the old, established homelands and risk their fortune in a new, uncharted world. Eventually, of course, all such idealistic dreams are idealized. But it is not as easy or as glamorous as the story books about the westward trek of the covered wagons often pictured it. It is a slow process and a hard day-to-day struggle and only the strongest are able to survive.⁵⁷

This philosophy of life held true for all people settling on the prairies. One very good example of life on the prairies is Elinore Pruitt, who filed on her claim by the use of the amended Homestead Act. She had 240 acres of land adjoining her future husband's ranch. Still, she would not have married Clyde Stewart if he had not promised she could meet all her "land difficulties unaided," for she "wanted the fun and the experiences."⁵⁸ The house that Stewart's hired men built for her adjoined his ranch house. Stewart mowed hay with a team of horses and grew large

Homesteading was a struggle against discouragement, frustrations and gloom.

crops of potatoes and various root vegetables. He even experimented successfully with beans and tomatoes. She made preserves, butter, milked the cows, raised chickens, turkeys and children. "When I read of the hard times among the Denver poor," she wrote her friend:

I feel like urging them every one to get out and file on land. To me, homesteading is a solution of all poverty's problems, but I realize that temperament has much to do with success in any undertaking, and persons afraid of coyotes and work and loneliness had better let ranching alone. At the same time, any woman who can stand her own company, can see the beauty of the sunset, loves growing things, and is willing to put in as much time as careful labor as she does over her washtubs, will certainly succeed; will have independence, plenty to eat all the time, and have a home of her own in the end.⁵⁹

Homesteaders soon realized that life on the open prairies was a gamble, with the odds against success. They frequently fought weather, insects, wild animals, loneliness, fear, disease and new unfamiliar terrain. Dr. Bessie Fell was exposed frequently and dangerously to the rigors of prairie weather and to the hazards of night driving in an open buggy or horseback over uncharted wilderness. These great physical hardships included long and hazardous trips during rainstorms and blizzards.⁶⁰

Florence Blake Smith hired a man to plant her wheat. According to her, "He must have planted bird seed. The

minute the green stuff showed half an inch above the ground, the ground was black with birds, and the green stuff soon got discouraged and gave up."⁶¹ Her first crop never saw harvest, because "it was a dry summer," and the birds ate what little came up.⁶² Hazle J. Pence solved her problem concerning water by filing on 640 acres of grazing land 28 miles north of Cheyenne. She located her homesite beside a spring of crystal clear water which was adequate for household use.⁶³

The hardest part of homesteading for women came when their fears became truths. They did face, indeed, some very real dangers. On the prairies of Wyoming they confronted snakes. Mary Culbertson and Helen Coburn Howell heard of a snake crawling through the floor boards of a hotel in Worland. "With visions of snakes crawling through the floor onto us, we changed our sleeping arrangements, and there after Helen slept on the office table, and I slept for two miserable, uncomfortable weeks on two trunks."⁶⁴ Florence Blake Smith had an encounter with a rattlesnake,

I heard that terrifying buzzzzzz that warns you of a rattlesnake. Where he was and in which direction, I had no idea, since he remained perfectly still after that first warning . . . usually if it is the last thing you do, ethics demand you kill a rattler, either by shooting it or with rocks.⁶⁵

Fredericka Deike accompanied her children one and three-fourths miles across the prairie every morning to the hill south of their neighbors so they could attend school.⁶⁶ She did this every morning and afternoon and always carried a revolver with her, as she was afraid of coyotes and snakes.⁶⁷

Women had many other fears. In 1885, Elizabeth Gorden at the age of 28 fulfilled a lifetime dream when she homesteaded in northeastern Colorado near the Wyoming border. Every night she would wedge her large Saratoga trunk between her bed and the door of her house to keep intruders out and to give herself a feeling of security.⁶⁸ Gorden never lit her lamps at night because she was afraid of strangers after dark. She also, ". . . had a pistol which the men in the family taught her how to use."⁶⁹ Women contended with emergencies sometimes beyond their own expectations. Mary Culbertson and Helen Coburn Howell arrived in Worland for the first time and found typhoid fever raging in the town. They considered taking the next stage home, but were asked to give their services to the sick as nurses. They protested they knew nothing of nursing, but agreed to help. Culbertson and Howell got along very well. There were about fifteen to twenty patients with the fever, housed in an improvised hospital in an old log building. Curtains were put up for partitions to provide a semblance of privacy. The nearest doctor was at Hyattville, about 45 miles away.⁷⁰

As did most homesteaders, Ida Watkins dealt with her fears. Just across the border of Wyoming in Merino, Colorado, Watkins worked on a ranch twelve miles round trip from her homestead. She made the trip both ways almost

every day, as homestead legislation required the prospective landowner actually live on the claim. Watkins had a great fear of horses, and hers terrified her. Her trips back and forth to and from her job became a private hell. If she arrived safely each night, her relief was short, for as darkness settled, she listened to the howls of the prairie, and imagined many an attack. She awoke the next morning only to ride her despised horse to work. Watkins, like most other homesteaders, learned to compensate. She became such a good rider that she won a silk dress in a pony race at a Fourth of July celebration.⁷¹

To break up the long periods of very real fear and loneliness, social gatherings occurred frequently. According to Mary Culbertson, "one of the favorite forms of recreation then, and now, was dancing. Every special occasion was celebrated in this way."⁷² Usually each time a new home or building had been completed the local homesteaders celebrated and initiated the new building by having a dance within the new walls. According to Culbertson, dances could be held at any time. The news was dispatched around the countryside and everyone for miles around would be there.⁷³ As the towns became more settled, dances moved to one room schools, so small that onlookers had to stand outside, peering in the doors and windows.⁷⁴ Usually a pot-luck dinner allowed the dancers to take an intermission. Women were all expected to bring a pie to the dances, as an "entrance fee," for the evening.⁷⁵ As the dancers left for home, most would catch a nap on the way. Sarah Barbara Claypool, who grew up on the Wyoming border, stated they would settle their wagons into the ruts of the prairie roads and then, recalled they would "lean back and rest or even go to sleep; the horse would follow the trail home."⁷⁶

Many people entertained themselves in their own homes by forming clubs, reading or playing a musical instrument at their own leisure. Bertha Davis came to Wyoming in September, 1908, settling twelve miles north of Hillsdale. Her two room cabin had been constructed by Curt Ellenberger, who had a claim a short distance to the south. During the latter part of September, Florence and Milicent Davis came out to live on their homestead. Each woman slept and cooked in her own one room cabin built in her corner section adjacent to the other woman. Due to their close proximity, the women enjoyed the frequent company and conversation with the local cowboys. Gradually, the area in which these women lived had been named Calico Hill by the cowboys because of the calico cloth worn by the women. Since the friends lived close to each other, gatherings occurred often. In 1909, the women formed a club named the Jolly Dry Farmers, a homemaker's club, which is still in existence.

By the time women proved up they had lived through a vast number of experiences. Understandably, some women took longer to prove their claims than others. This depended upon their circumstances. Susan J. McLaughlin took out her homestead claim on March 18, 1890, but did

not receive her certificate until June 17, 1908. (See Appendix A) According to the land records, McLaughlin needed eighteen years in which to fulfill the time she was required to live on her homestead. On the other hand, some women took advantage of the clause in the Homestead Act allowing the homesteaders to pay a minimum price for the land. One such woman, Emma Dudley of Laramie County, took out her homestead claim on October 26, 1908. After paying a fee, she received her certificate on November 24, 1908, a total of 30 days. (See Appendix A) Apparently, Dudley was more affluent than McLaughlin.

The majority of women homesteaders who settled in Wyoming remained unmarried, according to the county land records of Crook, Laramie, Natrona and Sweetwater counties from March 26, 1888, to March 12, 1943. Of the homesteaders, 68.9 percent remained unmarried. These women homesteaders clearly did not view homesteading as a means of obtaining the land as a dowry in order to meet a husband. Of the 68.9 percent, 5.9 percent died in the attempt of homesteading land. Once a claim had been taken out 29.1 percent married. Only approximately two percent of single women homesteaders were widows who must have viewed homesteading as a means of starting their own life over with a fresh start. (See Appendix B, Table II)

In Laramie County, 21 women homesteaded land between March 18, 1890, and January 2, 1908. Of these women, ten sold their claims after receiving certificates of ownership. One-third of these women who sold were unmarried. Two transferred their homestead land deeds to their husbands. Interestingly, one married woman sold her land, but not to her husband. (See Appendix B, Table III)

The other eleven women kept their land. Of these women, 38.1 percent were unmarried, while 9.5 percent were married. Out of 21 women, there was only one widow and she kept her land. These statistics clearly show a majority of these women were unmarried. (See Appendices A and B, Table III)

In conclusion, the Homestead Act did not discriminate against male or female applicants between 1888 and 1943. Of the 6,527 homestead patents issued in Crook, Johnson, Laramie, Lincoln, Natrona and Sweetwater counties (See Appendix B, Table I) nearly twelve percent were single women homesteaders. (See Appendix B, Table II) This clearly proves that single women took advantage of their right to homestead in the state of Wyoming. Homesteading, a non-glamorous aspect of life, offered a peculiar challenge to women. As mentioned previously, women's motives for homesteading were as varied as the individual backgrounds. They sought adventure and fun, a husband, perhaps financial security, independence and equal rights. Many pursued an alternative to the reduced opportunities of the more settled regions. Homesteading land required ingenious thinking. The adventurous had to locate information on available land, apply for a homestead, pack and

prepare for the move. Then they met filing and relinquishment fees, built a homesite, maintained economic standing and made a living on the land to prove up and receive a certificate and deed. Women soon realized that life on the open prairie was a gamble.

The Homestead Act, indeed, was one of the great democratic measures of world history, in that it allowed women the right to own land by homesteading. The women who attempted a claim were inventive, hardworking, courageous and determined to obtain and fulfill the requirements of a homestead. Overall, these single women homesteaders proved to be just that. The legacy these homesteaders left can be seen in the names of their descendants who live in southern Wyoming. The characteristics that made these women can, also, be seen in their contemporary relatives.⁷⁸

1. John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979); Robert T. Hine, *The American West: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1973); T. A. Larson, *History of Wyoming* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978); Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).
2. United States Congress, *Homestead Act*, Ch. 75, 12, Stat. 392 (1862), p. 1. Historical Research and Publications Division, Wyoming State Archives, Museums & Historical Department, Cheyenne, Wyoming (WSAMHD).
3. Laramie County Clerk Homestead Certificate Records, Certificate number 904, application number 2491, Agnes M. Teusdale, Archives Division, WSAMHD.
4. *Homestead Act*, p. 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
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8. Larson, *History of Wyoming*, p. 174.
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15. United States Congress, *Carey Act*, Sec. 4, 43, U.S.C., Sec. 641 (1976).
16. T. A. Larson, *Wyoming: A History* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1977), p. 118.
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18. Myres, *Westering Women*, p. 258.
19. Elinore Pruitt Stewart, *Letters of a Woman Homesteader* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914); Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*; Thorpe, "A Woman Alone Stakes a Claim," *In Wyoming*, pp. 26-29.
20. Howell, WPA folder 798, WSAMHD.
21. Robert P. Porter, *The West: From the Census of 1880* (Chicago: Rand, McNally, and Company, 1982), pp. 38-80.
22. Luella Moyer, "Mrs. Luella Moyer, Campbell County Pioneer," Interviewer Glendys Wilkenson, WPA folder 906, p. 1, WSAMHD.
23. Myres, *Westering Women*, p. 258.
24. Kirkbride, *From These Roots*, p. 121.
25. Alfred Rehwinkel, *Dr. Bessie* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963), p. 57.
26. Thorpe, "A Woman Alone Stakes a Claim," *In Wyoming*, p. 27.
27. *Ibid.*
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29. Charley O'Kieffe, *Western Story: The Recollections of Charley O'Kieffe, 1884-1898* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), p. 7.
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31. Nell Brown Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames of the Colorado Prairie* (Boulder: Pruett Publishing Company, 1982), pp. 8-9.
32. Stewart, *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*, pp. v, 11, 226.
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35. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, p. 2.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
37. Thorpe, "A Woman Alone Stakes a Claim," *In Wyoming*, p. 27.
38. Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames*, pp. 8, 23.
39. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, pp. 3, 13.
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 2, 18.
42. Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames*, p. 17.
43. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, p. 31.
44. Culbertson, WPA folder 699; Howell, WPA folder 798, WSAMHD.
45. *Ibid.*
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47. Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catherine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), p. 97.
48. Kirkbride, *From These Roots*, p. 121; Howell, WPA folder 798, WSAMHD.
49. Rehwinkel, *Dr. Bessie*, p. 74.
50. Stewart, *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*, p. 190.
51. Edna Norris, "A Courageous Homesteader," WPA folder 692, WSAMHD.
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53. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, p. 20.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
55. *Ibid.*
56. Rehwinkel, *Dr. Bessie*, p. 69.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
58. Stewart, *Letters of a Woman Homesteader*, pp. 77, 79.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-27, 215, 280-281.
60. Rehwinkel, *Dr. Bessie*, pp. 73-74.
61. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, p. 31.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Kirkbride, *From These Roots*, p. 131.
64. Culbertson, WPA folder 699, p. 2, WSAMHD.
65. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, p. 106.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Jolly Dry Farmers, *Calico Hill*, p. 23.
68. Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames*, p. 43.
69. *Ibid.*
70. Culbertson, WPA folder 699, p. 3, WSAMHD.
71. Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames*, p. 8.
72. Culbertson, WPA folder 699, p. 9, WSAMHD.
73. *Ibid.*
74. Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames*, p. 7.
75. Smith, *Cow Chips 'n' Cactus*, p. 28.
76. Propst, *Those Strenuous Dames*, p. 7.
77. Jolly Dry Farmers, *Calico Hill*, pp. 121-122; Kirkbride, *From These Roots*, p. 21.
78. Teresa Jordan, *Cowgirls* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1982).



APPENDIX A

County Clerk Records: Book 95

p. 30

Lucy B. Thomas

Homestead Patent: February 8, 1892 Application No. 1078

Homestead Certificate: March 7, 1898 Certificate No. 572

Land Description: Lots numbered one and two, and the East half of the Northwest quarter of Section 18, in Township 14, North of Range 61, West of the Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming, containing one hundred and fifty-two acres, and twenty-four hundreds of an acre.

Lucy Thomas married and sold her homestead to John C. Gilland, January 31, 1898, for \$50.00.

p. 31

Ida A. Gilland, formerly Ida A. Thomas

Homestead Patent: February 8, 1892 Application No. 723

Homestead Certificate: March 7, 1898 Certificate No. 571

Land Description: South half of the Southeastern quarter, and the South half of the Southwest quarter of Section 12, in Township 14, North of Range 62, West of the Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Ida Gilland kept her homestead for many years.

p. 79

Jessie Sinclair, widow of Archibald Sinclair, Deceased

Homestead Patent: February 7, 1895 Application No. 2401

Homestead Certificate: January 23, 1900 Certificate No. 839

Land Description: North half of Northeast quarter, and the Northeast quarter of the Northwest quarter of Section 6, in Township 17, North of Range 70, West of the Sixth forty-one acres, and twenty-two hundreds of an acre.

Jesse Sinclair kept her homestead for many years.

p. 87

Elizabeth Griffin

Homestead Patent: April 27, 1898 Application No. 2830

Homestead Certificate: May 31, 1900 Certificate No. 1065

Land Description: North half of Northeast quarter of Section 23, and the West half of the Northwest quarter of Section 24, in Township 19, North of Range 65, West of the Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Elizabeth Griffin kept her homestead for many years.

p. 107

Claricy B. Thomas, formerly Claricy Bowen

Homestead Patent: November 28, 1900 Application No. 2665

Homestead Certificate: Dec. 26, 1900 Certificate No. 1220

Land Description: Southwest quarter of Section 32, in Township 15, North of Range 66, West of Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Claricy Thomas kept her homestead for many years.

p. 160

Eleanor B. Baxter

Homestead Patent: May 22, 1899 Application No. 3488

Homestead Certificate: January 9, 1902 Certificate No. 1093

Land Description: Lots numbered one, two, three, and four of Section 22 in Township 12, north of Range 70, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty-four acres, and fifty-eight hundreds of an acre.

Eleanor Baxter sold her homestead land on June 21, 1902, to a Mrs. C. H. Gooding for \$300.

p. 186

Lizzie Kisening

Homestead Patent: September 19, 1898 Application No. 2873

Homestead Certificate: April 19, 1902 Certificate No. 1027

Land Description: Northwest quarter of Section 10 in Township 17, North of Range 60, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Lizzie Kisening did not sell her land, but kept the homestead.

p. 218

Emma M. Dudley

Homestead Patent: March 25, 1902 Application No. 3187

Homestead Certificate: Dec. 19, 1902 Certificate No. 1404

Land Description: Northwest quarter of Northeast quarter of Section 28 in Township 17, North of Range 69, West of the Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing forty acres.

Emma Dudley sold her claim to Charles A. Dereemer on Oct. 1, 1918.

p. 219

Ellen R. Lathan, assigned by mesne conveyance of John D. Simpson

Homestead Patent: September 26, 1902 Application No. 4748

Homestead Certificate: December 20, 1902 Certificate No. 1418

Land Description: Southeast quarter of Southwest quarter of Section 7, in Township 18, North of Range 70, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming containing forty acres.

Ellen Lathan obtained this land through the provisions made for Civil War veterans. She either was a war veteran's widow or bought the right to homestead from a veteran. She kept her homestead. There was no record of her selling.

p. 259

Lena Paulson

Homestead Patent: October 13, 1902 Application No. 2734

Homestead Certificate: July 11, 1903 Certificate No. 1087

Land Description: East half of the southeast quarter of Section 3, and the North half of Southwestern quarter of Section 2,

in Township 17, North of Range 68, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Lena Paulson kept her claim according to the records.

p. 260

Minnie E. Chambers

Homestead Patent: February 12, 1902 Application No. 3219

Homestead Certificate: July 11, 1903 Certificate No. 1349

Land Description: Lots numbered one, two, and three, Southeast quarter of Northwest quarter of Section 1 in Township 17, North of Range 68, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty-two acres, and seventy hundreds of an acre.

Minnie E. Chambers sold her claim to Lena C. Lukins on Nov. 3, 1907.

p. 299

Mari Christenson

Homestead Patent: September 26, 1902 Application No. 2847

Homestead Certificate: May 7, 1904 Certificate No. 1448

Land Description: Southwest quarter of Section 8 in Township 12, North of Range 62, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming.

Mari Christenson kept her homestead for numerous years after receiving her certificate.

p. 344

Latitia Kelsey

Homestead Patent: July 8, 1895 Application No. 2039

Homestead Certificate: April 20, 1905 Certificate No. 890

Land Description: Northeast quarter of Northwest quarter, and South half of Northwest quarter of Section 17, and Southeast quarter of Northeast quarter of Section 18 in Township 18, North of Range 61, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Latitia Kelsey sold her land to James D. Gilleland on October 31, 1905, for \$500.

p. 346

Heirs of Elinor Thomas

Homestead Patent: January 31, 1903 Application No. 3898

Homestead Certificate: May 3, 1905 Certificate No. 1547

Land Description: North half of Southwest quarter of Southeast quarter of Southwest quarter of Southwest quarter of Northwest quarter of Section 32 in Township 15, North of Range 62, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Elinor Thomas died between taking out a Homestead Patent and receiving her Certificate. Her heirs inherited her land.

p. 402

Mary Bailey

Homestead Patent: July 24, 1895 Application No. 2227

Homestead Certificate: September 4, 1906 Certificate No. 889

Land Description: West half of Northeast quarter and West quarter of Southeast quarter of Section 18 in Township 14, North of Range 66, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Mary Bailey did not sell her homestead directly after receiving her certificate but kept her claim for many years.

p. 408

Marsha Kirkbride formerly Misealf

Homestead Patent: December 20, 1904 Application No. 3353

Homestead Certificate: October 6, 1906 Certificate No. 1775

Land Description: North half of Southwest quarter, Southeast quarter of Southwest quarter of Section 23, in Township 18, North of Range 64, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Marsha Kirkbride's husband homesteaded on the sections, Section 23 and 24, right next to hers. Consequently, their home place was quite sizable.

p. 437

Mabel E. Underwood

Homestead Patent: December 17, 1906 Application No. 4262

Homestead Certificate: March 29, 1907 Certificate No. 2024

Land Description: West half of Northeast quarter, and North of Range 70, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Mabel Underwood married a Mr. Heosman. She sold her homestead to J. J. Underwood and Son on January 3, 1908, for \$1.

p. 461

Martha Pawson

Homestead Patent: May 22, 1907 Application No. 4575

Homestead Certificate: August 16, 1907 Certificate No. 2108

Land Description: Southwest quarter of Section 12 in Township 13, North of Range 64, West of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Martha Pawson took out a homestead apparently to obtain the free land.

p. 506

Susan J. McLauchlin

Homestead Patent: March 18, 1890 Application No. 489

Homestead Certificate: June 17, 1908 Certificate No. 223

Land Description: West half of Northeast quarter, and the East half of the Northwest quarter of Section 14 in Township 17, North of Range 70, West of Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Susan Van Zandt McLauchlin turned her homestead over to her husband on June 18, 1908, for \$480.

p. 508

Annie Nelson

Homestead Patent: January 2, 1908 Application No. 4843

Homestead Certificate: July 28, 1908 Certificate No. 2169

Land Description: Northeast quarter of Section 18 in Township 14, North of Range 60, West of Sixth Principal Meridian, in Wyoming, containing one hundred and sixty acres.

Annie Nelson sold her land on March 4, 1911, for \$300 to Peleg J. Whitehead.

p. 519

Emma M. Dudley

Homestead Patent: October 26, 1908 Application No. 7389

Homestead Certificate: Nov. 24, 1908 Certificate No. 2235

Land Description: Southwest quarter of Southeast quarter, and the South half of the Southwest quarter of Section 21, in Township 17, North of Range 69, of Sixth Principal Meridian in Wyoming, containing one hundred and twenty acres.

Emma Dudley sold her land to Charles A. Dereemer on October 1, 1918.

APPENDIX B

Table I

HOMESTEAD PATENTS OF SIX WYOMING COUNTIES

COUNTIES	SINGLE WOMEN HOMESTEAD PATENTS	TOTAL HOMESTEAD PATENTS
CROOK June 23, 1891-January 27, 1925	541 (13.3%)	4058 (100%)
JOHNSON March 26, 1888-September 30, 1932	109 (7.9%)	1383 (100%)
LARAMIE February 25, 1895-November 24, 1905	50 (16.6%)	301 (100%)
LINCOLN April 14, 1917-March 12, 1943	10 (13.1%)	76 (100%)
NATRONA April 29, 1903-March 22, 1925	52 (8.2%)	636 (100%)
SWEETWATER November 20, 1915-October 1, 1925	10 (13.7%)	73 (100%)
TOTALS	772 (11.8%)	6527 (100%)

* Percentages rounded off to the nearest tenth.

* Note that **Table I** and **Table II** both show 11.8% of the homesteaders were single women.

APPENDIX B

Table II

TWENTY-ONE SINGLE WOMEN HOMESTEADERS LARAMIE COUNTY MARCH 18, 1890, TO JANUARY 2, 1908

WOMEN WHO:	NUMBER OF HOMESTEADERS	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL (21)
SOLD LAND (10)		
20% Married, sold to husband	2	9.5
10% Married, sold elsewhere	1	4.8
70% Unmarried, sold elsewhere	7	33.3
KEPT LAND (11)		
18.2% Married	2	9.5
9.1% Widowed	1	4.8
72.7% Unmarried (one died)	8	38.1

* Percentages rounded off to the nearest tenth.

APPENDIX B

Table III

SINGLE WOMEN HOMESTEADERS IN FOUR COUNTIES

COUNTIES	UNMARRIED			MARRIED AFTER PATENT		WIDOW	TOTAL
	Lived	Died	Assigned	Lived	Died		
CROOK							
Patent Records	319	36	1	159	2	3	520
June 23, 1891- January 27, 1925	61.3%	6.9%	.2%	30.6%	.4%	.6%	12.2%
LARAMIE							
Certificate Records	58	3	1	14	0	3	79
March 25, 1886- February 16, 1917	73.4%	3.8%	1.3%	17.7%	0	3.8%	12.3%
NATRONA							
Patent Records	25	0	3	17	0	7	52
April 29, 1903- March 22, 1922	48.0%	0	5.8%	32.7%	0	13.5%	8.2%
SWEETWATER							
Patent Records	9	0	0	0	0	0	9
November 20, 1915- October 1, 1925	100%	0	0	0	0	0	12.3%
TOTALS		455		192		13	660
		68.9%		29.1%		2.0%	11.8%

* Percentages rounded off to the nearest tenth.

* Note that Table I and Table II both show 11.8% of the homesteaders were single women.

BOOK REVIEWS

WYOMING—*Land of Echoing Canyons*. By Beverly Elaine Brink, Ed., Brancie M. Berg. Third in the Old West Region Series. (Hettinger, North Dakota: Flying Diamond Books, 1986) Index. Bib. Illus. Map. 176 pp. \$21.95.

This easy-to-read book is set up in three parts. Part One, *Land of Echoing Canyons*, describes the natural wonders of the state. Any amateur or professional geologist, archaeologist, historian or preservationist would certainly benefit from this section prior to visiting landmarks described throughout.

Within this chapter the reader will begin to understand the deep-seated pride that citizens of Wyoming have for their state. Appreciation for the state and its natural resources is reinforced over and over. From land use practices to industry to historical facts it is evident that the state has much to offer.

In colorful detail the not-so-easy survival of Wyoming's Native Americans is analyzed. Their respect for the land and its inhabitants is an easy fact to absorb. Viewpoints and changes are candidly discussed by several outstanding Indian citizens.

It is easy to recognize that game and fish in the state is big business. The habits and habitats of hundreds of species that roam the vast landscape are dealt with on an individual basis. Those sportsmen interested in hunting with rifle or camera will find this section a ready reference to local guidelines.

Part Two, *Wyoming Today*, describes contemporary lifestyles found around the state. The reader soon begins to realize that Wyoming had them all—trappers, rendezvous, country dances, plus an opera or English salon—and still does!

Readers will enjoy the numerous biographical sketches of colorful Wyomingites, each described with just enough flair that you feel like nothing has been left out. You are introduced to those citizens who live on reservations or in the cities and towns that dot the state.

The decade of "boom and bust" felt throughout the 1970s is an accurate, albeit not often pretty, account of what the state went through in trying to accommodate fast paced changes. The reader will feel a surge of pride in those citizens who were dramatically affected by these changes—from the miner to the rancher, each of whom continue to take steps to protect the land and their lifestyles.

Part Three, *History of Wyoming*, is the longest chapter in the book. The positive conclusions of this reviewer, which were drawn early, were consistently reinforced in this chapter.

Early pioneers like Narcissa Whitman, Jim Bridger and Black Beaver are all brought to life in this chapter. They and many others survived numerous social ailments along with the blizzards, dust storms and economics. Throughout the centuries each Wyomingite has shown a strong determination—one they have doggedly earned and fully deserve.

I appreciated the author's mention of many of the state's cultural resources, museums and historic sites. The section on John Kendrick, one of the state's most successful citizens, could only have been enhanced by a picture of his stately mansion that is now a state historic site.

This reviewer highly recommends this book for those tourists who like to "study" a state prior to their visit, to those individuals interested in making Wyoming their home or to anyone who currently lives here and would like a quick refresher course. At \$21.95 it is the most expensive volume of the series. Regardless of the price, however, the hard-bound, nicely illustrated book would make an enjoyable gift for yourself or a friend.

LINDA G. ROLLINS

Rollins is Public Information Officer for the Archives, Museums and Historical Department.

Washakie: A Wyoming County History. By Ray Pendergraft. (Basin: Saddlebag Books, 1985) Index. Notes. Illus. 251 pp. \$12.95.

Washakie: A Wyoming County History has recently been added to the growing list of Wyoming, regional, community and county histories. The need for this type of chronicle was evinced some years ago and answers the need for specifics which make up the whole. Local history has been encouraged, defined and applauded by no less an organization than the American Association for State and Local History, headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee. That association's correct contention is that any person or persons living in a precise locale know more about their past than anyone else, ergo, it is their responsibility to record and preserve it. When possible, they should share and disseminate it through publication. The goal has been reached in this volume on Washakie County.

The material was compiled and collected by lifelong county resident Ray Pendergraft. A writer of some experience, he has published poems, short stories and articles of historical content for a number of years. As a descendant of a pioneer family, he grew up hearing stories of his part of the Equality State. These include accurate recollections of past events and some events that may or may not be considered folklore. Nonetheless, both are substantial additions to his history. Further, because of his long association with many other Washakie County residents, he has relied on the oral tradition—oral history, if you will—to flesh out certain portions of the book. First-hand accounts rendered by eyewitnesses are considered by many published historians as the best source of information. I give you John Toland's biography of Adolph Hitler and Merle Miller's biographies of Harry Truman and Lyndon B. Johnson as evidence.

Pendergraft has approached the goal he set for himself logically. He compiled a great deal of data, apparently taking a number of years to do so. He then set about to write a chronological history of his county and town. The final product is as thorough as the research he completed. It is clear, informative and so structured that in years to come, it will serve as a useable reference/research work.

The author makes some points that others planning a similar volume should keep in mind. Washakie County's experiences with and participation in such historical phenomena as Prohibition and World War II are just as important as the rest of America's. Prohibition was certainly as big a problem in the Big Horn Basin of Wyoming as it was in Chicago. World War II was as frightening to the people in and around Worland, Wyoming as it was to those individuals living on the Pacific coast. In short, the people of this region lived their history every bit as much as those in other geographic areas.

Pendergraft devotes space to two still-controversial incidents in Wyoming's past. They were the Spring Creek Raid of 1909 and the mysterious death of Governor William

A. Richards' daughter Edna Jenkins and her husband Thomas. Neither event has been fully explained to historians interested in them and they probably will be discussed and re-discussed as much as the Johnson County Invasion of 1892 and the career and execution of stock detective hired gun Tom Horn. To those who are unaware of these two pages from Wyoming history, the information provided will be enlightening and interesting.

The book is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of many photographs. They do a fine job of supplementing the text and helping to tell the story. The inclusion of a complete surname index will be welcomed by genealogists and other researchers seeking information on Washakie County. Footnotes are present, but they do not overwhelm the page as is the case in some publications. Footnotes that suffocate the writer's text really have no place in a readable history.

All in all, this book is a solid contribution to the history of the region and of the state. It will be appreciated and enjoyed by those who choose to take time to read it.

LOT B. ALBRIN

Albrin is a free-lance writer who has reviewed for several historical journals.

Buffalo's First Century. By the Buffalo Centennial Book Committee. (Buffalo: Buffalo Bulletin, 1984) Index. Illus. 223 pp. \$20.00 cloth; \$14.00 paper.

Created as a part of its centennial celebration *Buffalo's First Century* is a portrait of one of Wyoming's small towns. It is a compilation of historical reports, newspaper articles and first hand accounts of Buffalo's history.

Buffalo began as a supply depot for Fort McKinney during the 1880s. The first chapter depicts a frontier boom town with articles from the *Annals of Wyoming*, the *Buffalo Bulletin* and from previously untapped sources.

Continuing through the years, the book includes first families and early businesses. The book depicts the vast abilities of the founding fathers as they strove to build their vision. Hard working men and women who ran businesses while securing a homestead still had time for church and community activities.

There is a chapter devoted to transportation methods with photographs of mule and ox teams, a variety of stages, automobiles, railroad and aircraft. A chapter titled "Legal Leanings" includes stories about the early day judges, lawyers and the county's only legal hanging. Information about the land office, the library, cemetery and post office is in this chapter too.

As an army rest and recreation center, early Buffalo had more than its share of saloons and brothels. A short chapter dwells on the cleverness of these early entrepreneurs who used roller skates and a corral for elk to draw customers.

Other businesses described are the telephone service, flour mill, brewery, ice business, water delivery, the Occidental Hotel, newspapers, physicians and banking.

Articles on prohibition and the Works Progress Administration in Buffalo bring the book into the 20th century. Chapters on schools, churches and recreation round out the view of the town.

The modern era is somewhat neglected by the book. Deliberately, the cattle war of 1892 is barely mentioned. The index is of local family names without subject inclusions. Use of oral history transcriptions and nonprofessional writers adds or detracts from the volume depending on the reader's inclination. Carefully reproduced photographs present a visual history of the community that is truly outstanding.

One of the goals of the book committee compiling the history was to make a readable, enjoyable book. In this I believe they have succeeded. The variety of article lengths and depth provide accurate information without overdosing. In all, *Buffalo's First Century* is for both lay reader and historian.

PATTY MYERS

The reviewer is a librarian with the Johnson County Library.

Son of the Morning Star, Custer and the Little Bighorn. By Evan S. Connell. (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984) Index. Maps. 441 pp. \$20.00.

Evan S. Connell's *Son of the Morning Star* is vastly eclectic, to say the least. He is all over the scenery—in the best sense of the words.

Connell has produced nothing particularly new and startling, but he has collected or expanded, in some ways, the large amounts of Custeriana. The book is refreshing certainly in not again serving only to dissect the ill-fated Custer battle on the Little Big Horn.

He treats of the fight and the events leading up to it, of course, but otherwise he has produced a number of vignettes dealing with Custer, his not-so-merry subordinates, army types and others with whom Custer was associated.

Of first importance, the book never lags for interest, particularly for those to whom much of the Custer story, from West Point to the end, is new.

Included in *Morning Star* are devastating portrayals of the two second leads in the final Custer saga—Captain F. W. Benteen and Major Marcus Reno.

Connell gives a fair rundown of Reno's defeat in the opening of the Battle of the Little Big Horn—be it a tactical withdrawal of his troops or an ignominious retreat, or a combination of both, to Reno Hill. Reno, by most accounts, comes off poorly. Benteen, by some of the same accounts, comes off better. But this is standard Custer.

Far more interesting are bits and pieces of the two men. Both were hard drinkers. Connell recounts the time Benteen in his alcoholic cups stepped out of his tent and urinated on it, while, all the time, there was present a woman visitor of starched respectability. After all, it was de rigueur in mid-Victorianism—and later—to seek a bush, a tree or, at least, a gully. This is the Benteen whose cherubic countenance beams out from the latter-day photograph so well known. He was, Connell develops, anything but a cherub.

Major Reno had a respectable Civil War record, but he was a born loser. He consumed disabling quantities of the frontier's inebriating forty-rod rotgut. He brawled with subordinates, and in his career coup de grace, he ends up a Peeping Marcus. Reno, as Connell recounts, peeped in a window at the apparently attractively-ample figure, however chastely clothed, of his commanding officer's daughter. This was Col. Samuel Sturgis who, though 1,000 miles or more away, received two body blows in connection with the Little Big Horn episodes. For one, he was detached to recruiting duty in St. Louis while his second-in-command, Custer, took the Seventh Cavalry to its fateful disaster in Montana. For another, his son, Jack, a lieutenant, died among the sagebrush with Custer.

Connell recounts with commendable fairness the fact that Custer might have fathered a child by a Cheyenne woman as he cantered around to "Gary Owen" (Custer's favorite marching song) on the plains of Kansas in the late 1860s. Custer put the blast on Black Kettle's camp in a surprise attack at the Washita Nov. 27, 1868. Some of the same Cheyenne were to meet him again in Montana as June ebbed in the Centennial year of 1876. Most of them emerged; George Armstrong Custer—son of the Morning Star—did not, but was enshrined because of emotion forever in the imagination of his country men and others.

But, most intriguing, is the question of whether his might-be Cheyenne daughter, fair-haired, light-complexioned, perhaps about seven or so years old, was present in the Indian camp on the banks of the Little Big Horn that fateful day now coming on 110 years ago?

BURTON THOMPSON

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The Canadian Prairies—A History. By Gerald Friesen. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) Index. Illus. 524 pp. \$22.50

The Canadian Prairies—A History is a collection of information about the economic, social and political factors operating over nearly four centuries in ever-shifting configurations which characterize Canada's vast interior prairies. This region, along with its co-region on the Pacific Coast, comprises the often enigmatic Canadian West.

Author Friesen, gathering perspectives from a great array of contemporary printed material, creates for the reader his interpretation of the forces at work which shaped the Canadian prairies into a distinctive region. Writing for a non-specific audience which could include scholars, students and general readers, he traces the development of modern prairie society from the 1600s when the region was inhabited by traditional native peoples using simple subsistence methods to the present day in which both the complex agricultural and industrial technologies dominate.

The central theme of the book is the passage of time and the changes thus resulting; some positive and some not positive. The author limits the book to one contiguous geographical region, which although topographically diverse, is logically delimited on the west by the Rocky Mountains and on the east by the stony granite Canadian Shield. The three prairie provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta are shown to have developed a recognizable "personality" based on shared weather, landforms and to an extent, psychology.

Friesen thus separates out the prairies from the coastal province of British Columbia, which shares neither the harsh weather nor landforms of the prairies, and has its own pattern of development. This is unusual treatment, for most Canadian history books deal with the Canadian West as one aggregate unit with two component regions, often within a sea-to-sea context.

Friesen gives generally equal weight to the major eras that shaped prairie history; the natives prior to European contact (after the Wisconsin Ice retreat 10,000-12,000 years B.P.—1600s), the native-European interface (1600s-1850), European dominance of the native populations (1850-1900), the rise of the Canadian nation-state (the Confederation period 1867-1900), the post-Confederation period and the Great Depression (1900-1940) and the contemporary post World War II period.

As a Professor of History at the well-respected University of Manitoba, the author is in a position as a prairie dweller to steep himself in prairie lore from an insider position. His sources of information include many western-dwelling scholars and some fine archives. Some biographical sketches of the pivotal post-Confederation era figures are part of living memory, which gives Friesen an edge.

He does not neglect to include geographical and anthropological data in the first part of his book to set the stage for the definition of the prairies as a unique region with special assets and liabilities, and to provide reference points for historical events.

Friesen certainly meets his objective to build a single volume which gives the reader a comprehensive overview of 400 years of prairie history in Canada. However, although he alludes to providing an ethnohistory, it seems to this reviewer that he falls short of that goal in comparison to other historians working from that angle. Surely

he tells many small and carefully detailed stories, but rather than weaving a tapestry with them, it seems more like he is salting his history to remove blandness.

For this reviewer also, the treatment of the prairie region as something more separate and apart from the rest of Canada than it actually has been is also problematical. For a reader looking for sweeping trends to identify, viewing the history of the prairies in relative isolation (compared to other authors) removes much of the high drama and mutes the essence of the prairies. This is not to imply that Friesen leaves anything out—because he doesn't; he simply does not play off prairie history against the larger canvas of Confederation to any great extent. Much of the punch of certain eras of Canadian history is thus lost; times when the fate of the Canadian nation-state rested absolutely on what happened west of the Manitoba-Ontario border.

It would seem to this reviewer that trying to write what is in essence a survey of prairie history for such a broad audience has many pitfalls, one of which is that the book may disappoint the reader who has studied this region and is looking for certain aspects which could be consistently linked into the paradigms of social science. However, the general reader probably does not have this requirement and could profit from reading the book more readily.

MARY C. WALKER

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American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82. By Robert H. Keller, Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983) Index. Bib. Notes. Appendix. Illus. 359 pp. \$27.95 cloth.

The so-called Peace Policy of 1869 to 1882 was the outgrowth of a new reformist crusade initiated by a diverse mixture of individuals who ranged from religious leaders such as John Beeson and Henry B. Whipple, to public servants such as Secretary of Interior Jacob D. Cox and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely Parker. Spurred by the senseless 1864 Sand Creek Massacre and government mismanagement of the Santee Sioux during the Civil War, reformers petitioned for a change in policy which would substitute devout Christian agents for the spoilsman who previously had dominated reservation affairs. President Ulysses S. Grant lent his crucial support to the experiment and allowed the division of all agencies among the various Christian denominations. Although their methods differed from reservation to reservation, these "missionary agents" operated on the assumption that their Christian principles would serve as good role models for the Indians, and that the purity of their motives would end legendary corruption within the Indian Office. Three hundred agents, assigned by thirteen different mission boards, administered the policy during the thirteen-year period, but the results fell far short of expectations.

Many historians have categorized the Peace Policy as an aberration in 19th century policy-making and a catastrophic one at that. Robert H. Keller, Jr., a professor of interdisciplinary studies at Western Washington University, has questioned the initial assumption and confirmed the latter. Instead of interpreting this program as a brief departure from past and subsequent policy, he sees a continuity within the entire century of policy-making. First, the Peace Policy shared the assimilationist goals of its predecessor and successor programs which ultimately led to the 1887 Dawes Severalty Act. Second, the close association of Church and State in matters of Indian relations had existed since the beginning of the nation, despite popular perceptions of the separation of the two spheres. Third, denominational bickering and infighting obscured the shared association and goals common to all the missionary groups and their representative agents.

Although the Peace Policy began with great enthusiasm and achieved some notable goals in Indian education and health care, the program faltered by 1877 with the loss of important national leaders, non-cooperation from some Indians who resented the seemingly hypocritical attacks on tribal culture and the continuous assault on reservation lands by avaricious white groups. In dramatic fashion and with an impressive array of well-documented evidence, Keller demonstrates that good intentions alone were not enough to construct a realistic and lasting Indian policy. When read in conjunction with Clyde Milner's more narrowly focused *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work among the Pawnees, Otos, and Omahas in the 1870s* (1982), this work serves as the best treatment of an important phase of American Indian policy. Researchers can ill-afford to overlook it in their own investigations.

MICHAEL L. TATE

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A Day at a Time: The Diary Literature of American Women from 1764 to the Present. Edited and with an Introduction by Margo Culley. (New York: Feminist Press, 1985) Bib. 342 pp. \$12.95.

The importance of studying women's diaries and journals for an understanding of the "her story" in history is increasingly recognized. In this volume which excerpts sections from 29 diaries, Margo Culley focuses on the diary writing of "ordinary" American women.

The arrangement is chronological. The women writers of the first section detail life in Colonial America. The second section, "The Journey Out," records the experiences and emotions of women caught in the great mass migrations of the 19th century. The 20th century women writers describe the complex relationship between their personal and political selves. Excerpts from the diary of Edith K. O. Clark, 1881-1936, elected Wyoming's State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1914, is presented in this section.

Margo Culley offers the interesting comment that both the words "diary" and "journal" come from the French word for day. A diary progresses "a day at a time," but for the sensitive reader these days describe the inward journey the diarist undertakes.

As we read, we share the diarist's discovery and become engaged for we are reading a form of literary art as important as any. Culley points out that in any work of art, selectivity is the guardian principle. What is excluded is often as important as what is left in. In other words, whether writing to herself, to a real or to an imaginary reader, the diarist consciously shapes her narrative just as she consciously shapes what we see of her self.

In modern literary terms, the diary is a construct, an artistic creation which includes such literary elements as characterization, setting, recurring themes and images, and audience. For all that a diary may tell us about an age or an event, we must not forget that the first subject is the journey of the author herself.

The eleven page selection from the diary of Edith K. O. Clark focuses not on her public life as a Sheridan County and State Superintendent of Public Instruction, but on her private life as a homesteader in the Big Horn Mountains of Johnson County, Wyoming. She embarked on this new career in her early fifties.

This short section records her pride in the creation of her log cabin—felling trees, peeling logs, raising the ridge pole and finally living in her cabin. She is not alone in her story; there are many friends and neighbors but, above all, she is surrounded by the power of nature especially in the soul thrilling skyscape and in the terror of forest fires.

The complexity of the relationship between her private and political life is painfully reflected as she records that the forest fire spread around her cabin and those of her neighbors unchecked for five days while the Forest Service debated jurisdiction.

The complete diary of Edith K. O. Clark was published in *Annals of Wyoming*, XXIX (No. 2, Oct. 1967), 217-44. The manuscript of the diary is at the University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming, with the Agnes Wright Spring papers.

DONA R. BACHMAN

The reviewer is Curator of Education and supervises the volunteer program for the Museums Division of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums & Historical Department. She holds a Ph.D. in English from Northern Illinois University.

Magic Images: Contemporary Native American Art. By Edwin L. Wade and Rennard Strickland. (Norman: Philbrook Art Center and University of Oklahoma Press, 1981) Index. Notes. Catalogue of the Exhibition. 128 pp. \$15.95.

Magic Images: Contemporary Native American Art is based on an exhibition of 37 leading American Indian painters and sculptures held at the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1981 ("Native American Arts '81") which was organized by Edwin Wade, one of the authors. Dr. Wade, curator of Native American Art at the Philbrook Art

Center, holds a Ph.D. in anthropology and has written many books and articles on American Indian culture. Co-author Rennard Strickland is a professor of law and history at the University of Tulsa. A scholar of Osage and Cherokee heritage, he serves as Chair of the Philbrook Art Center Indian Committee.

Magic Images, designed and edited by Carol Haralson, is presented in a large horizontal paperback format, and is much more than a photographic retrospective of an exhibition. The book presents a lively balance of essays and artwork, including a section of full-color reproductions from the exhibit. In the Introduction, "Contemporary Indian Art: Evolving Images of the Native American," the authors explain that fundamental changes have taken place in Indian art within the last 20 years, and as a means of understanding these changes, they have defined four main categories of visual expression.

"Historic expressionsim" is defined as personal reinterpretation of ancient conventions—the subject matter may vary widely, but the approach is the highly structural, two-dimensional technique used in the 19th century. The front and back cover of the book displays a work from this category, Randy Lee White's 1980 "Custer's Last Stand Revisited." White, a Sioux, takes the well known Cheyenne painting of the Battle of Little Big Horn, and transforms it into an Indian version of the energy crisis. Junk cars were sold to the naive Sioux by businessmen who neither knew nor cared that Indians had no gasoline. The painting depicts the rusting cars from aerial perspective, with stylistic Indians attacking soldiers protecting gas cans.

"Traditionalism" embraces the type of art most often identified by the public as "Indian." Historic native imagery (ceremonial dances, buffalo hunts) is presented in a two-dimensional technique, and usually depicts idealized versions of earlier Indian ways. Rance Hood, Comanche, is exceptional at "capturing an image of what has been, as a cultural vision of what can be." This school of painting lies at the center of a heated debate over what constitutes "real" Indian art. The works of Rance Hood and others portray a lifeway long gone—is it authentic for a contemporary Indian to depict events he has not experienced? Some critics demand that Indians paint only their tribal past, and only in accepted, prescribed, "Indian" styles.

"Modernism" encompasses those contemporary Indian painters or sculptors who experiment with mainstream (i.e., non-Indian) contemporary art techniques, but retain Indian imagery. The techniques vary widely, from photorealism to cubist abstraction but the subject matter is always recognizably Indian. Social commentary abounds in this category. One of the most effective statements of the plight of the Native American in an Anglo world is Navajo Greg Choe's "Tocito Waits for Boarding School Bus." Claw-like hands of a grandmother image clutch at the shoulders of a young Indian boy wearing a school beanie, amid hostile and malevolent symbols and shadows.

"Individualism" cannot be distinguished from mainstream contemporary art. It does not rely on any traditional Indian visual techniques or on Indian imagery. These artists are at the core of the heated debate on Indian/non-Indian art. One of the artists representing individualism is Chippewa George Morrison, an abstract expressionist who regards himself as an "artist who is Indian rather than an Indian artist." Morrison's "Landscapes" is a large brilliantly colored non-representational acrylic painting which, in the words of an art historian, "celebrates the wholeness of order and chaos, instinct and intellect, and man and nature."

The authors are sensitive and sympathetic to the plight of the contemporary Indian artist. They feel that Indians have been expected to produce artwork that meets the Anglo expectations of "Indianness," and as a result, Indian painting by the late 1960s was characterized by hollow commercialism. However, Indian art is no longer soothing and reassuring; its intention is to disturb. Conventional themes of ceremonies, costumes, rituals, hunts and dances have given way to "social commentary, personal inspiration and abstract experimentation."

Dr. Wade's essay, "The Ethnic Art Market and the Dilemma of Innovative Indian Artists," explains that while the art market offers a source of income to poor communities, it condones the selling of ethnicity in the form of stereotyped handicrafts. This situation has become a vicious circle—Indians provide a certain type of product which in turn the Anglos expect and regard as Indian art, thereby rejecting innovative Indian art. There may be no room in the ethnic art market for those artists who move away from tourist products.

From the very first, Anglos took control of quality, styles and designs by organizing, staging and ultimately judging Indian arts and crafts exhibits. Patrons rewarded the styles they had encouraged and ignored or disqualified innovative works. Such exhibits were ultimately protested by members of the American Indian Movement and others who believed Indians were encouraged to "perpetuate a false Hollywood image of their traditional life," to turn their private ceremonies into public carnivals.

A harsh critic (Indian) of contemporary commercial Indian art states: "Indian art is a bundle of safe decorative ideas and motifs that have been repeated so doggedly they have lost all ability to communicate or awaken our aesthetic senses . . . it is a place where Indians can hide when they do not want to compete with the great artists of the non-Indian world." On the other hand, traditional arts and crafts are still a source of pride for their creators. Economically they have helped Indian societies survive that otherwise would have long been submerged in mainstream America.

"*Magic Images: The Artists and Their Work*" consists of eleven full page color photographs from the Philbrook exhibit. The bias of the authors is evident—of the four

categories discussed above, Individualism is represented by six works, the rest by one or two each. Each of the eleven are reproduced again in a smaller black and white version along with a description of the work and the artist.

The final essay, "Beyond the Ethnic Umbrella: Learning More about Contemporary Indian Painting and Sculpture" by Rennard Strickland, is a guide to understanding and appreciating contemporary Indian art. Basically, he has provided the reader with a lengthy annotated bibliography of the major sources of scholarship on Indian painting and sculpture. It includes reference books, biographies, autobiographies, museum guides, art histories and exhibition catalogues, and is intelligently arranged by subject matter and section of country. This section alone makes this book extremely valuable for anyone with more than a passing interest in Native American art.

Having explored the traditional versus innovative debate from several angles, the authors hope that the issue will cease to be important. They feel that a sound analysis of Indian art requires the joining together of art, anthropology and history. "The future of American Indian art lies not in restrictive thematic or stylistic images, but in the individual visions of artists attuned to native value and sensitivities." Such a philosophy is to be valued, not only as it pertains to Indian art, but to all creative endeavors.

ELIZABETH ROSENBERG

The reviewer is a former art teacher and is currently a free-lance artist and drafts-person. She has done illustrations for a previous issue of Annals.

Native Faces: Indian Cultures in American Art. By Patricia Trenton and Patrick Houlihan. (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1984) Illus. 117 pp. \$15.95.

It is perhaps unfair to expect that an exhibition catalog achieve the full independence of a book, yet at their best such publications do rival their more literary counterparts in quality and usefulness. Inevitably, however, the value of such a publication is directly related to the form and content of the exhibition it describes, as it is nearly impossible for the catalog to transcend the limits imposed by the materials exhibited. Precisely these problems are illustrated by *Native Faces*, the catalog of an exhibition at the Southwest Museum of paintings from the Los Angeles Athletic Club collection of Indian portraits.

The joint authors of the catalog are Patricia Trenton, Curator of the Los Angeles Athletic Club Collection and Patrick Houlihan, Director of the Southwest Museum. Presumably selected by these two individuals, the exhibit presents a variety of portraits of Indians by Southwestern painters accompanied by artifacts from the museum collection which seem to have some relationship to the content of the paintings. Photographs of Indian subjects (including some which served as models for the paintings)

and of the various artists are also included. Like the exhibit itself, the catalog text represents the two rather separate interests of the individual authors rather than a merger into a common purpose.

Sponsored by the Los Angeles Athletic Club, the purpose of *Native Faces* is clearly to feature the club's excellent portrait collection. Largely painted between 1895 and 1930, these portraits are by such artists as Henry Raschen and Grace Hudson from California; Joseph Sharp, Ernest Blumenschein, Oscar Berninghaus, Victor Higgins and others of the Taos and Santa Fe groups of painters; and Edgar Paxson and John Hauser who painted Indians of the plains areas. Though nominally representative of "Indian cultures in American art," the show is dominated by the Taos-Santa Fe painters and their pueblo dwelling subjects.

Though ranging in style and content from the rather illustrative, "National Geographic" style of Grace Hudson or Joseph Sharp to the more expressionistic manner of Walter Ufer or Victor Higgins, the paintings do serve to document to some extent the continuing fascination of American artists with native subject matter. Of most interest in this regard is the work of those artists associated with Taos and Santa Fe during years when those communities became a hub of artistic interest in primitivism, attracting in addition to the painters such figures as Mable Dodge Luhan and D. H. Lawrence. As a documentary history of the particular movements in American art it represents, the show suffers limits by being structured entirely from the works owned by the LAAC. Had art history rather than club ownership been the organizing principle, a more comprehensive showing could have been assembled.

As the interest of the LAAC is revealed in the fine arts orientation of the portraits, the anthropological interests of the museum are highlighted by the artifacts and photographs selected to accompany the pictures. In many instances, items illustrated in paintings are simply paralleled by actual objects to suggest the accuracy of the artists renderings. Ironically, in some cases, the artifacts are more beautifully presented photographically than in the painting, leaving the reader to wonder exactly what is to be concluded by the juxtaposition. Similarly, some of the photographs seem intrinsically as meritorious as the painting on which they are a gloss. An opportunity is lost when the authors largely confine their commentary to the paintings without much regard for the photographs.

The text of *Native Faces* continues the reflection of two diverse interests revealed in the selection of paintings and artifacts. Both authors speak in independent voices, Houlihan writing as an anthropologist and interpreter of Indian life and Trenton as an art historian. Each contributes a series of short essays on the portraits, one of which puts the work in the context of art history, the other in the context of cultural anthropology. Since the portraits were conceived as artistic expressions, not as anthropological il-

lustrations, we perhaps learn more about them from Trenton than from Houlihan. For example, a 1965 painting by Kenneth Adams is commented upon in terms of color, structure and technique by Trenton, while Houlihan's essay comments on the accuracy of detail and digresses to take us inside the building against which the figure is posed.

In summary, *Native Faces* more nearly whets the appetite than satisfies it. As an introduction to a neglected minor tradition in American portraiture, it introduces a group of painters deserving of a more complete showing. As an anthropological introduction to native American traditions, it offers little beyond discursive commentary on the life behind the paintings. As a book, it suffers the problems of a catalog without the virtues of a comprehensive exhibition behind it.

WILLIAM E. GRANT

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American Forestry: A History of National, State & Private Cooperation. By William G. Robbins. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985) Index. Bib. 270 pp. \$26.95.

The U.S. Forest Service is the principal forestry agency of the United States government. This study provides a general description of that agency's relations with public agencies and private enterprises to the present. Mr. Robbins is professor of history at Oregon State University, and his book is a result of a contract with the Forest Service to provide a "history of the agency's cooperation with states and private individuals and companies." However, the author is quick to point out that the interpretive framework is his own.

The study, arranged chronologically and thematically, traces the roots of federal forestry starting with the appointment of Franklin B. Hough as the government's first forestry agent under the Department of Agriculture in 1876. Hough's task was to quite simply study the condition of the nation's forests. From these humble beginnings grew the Division of Forestry in 1881, which achieved bureau status in 1901. In 1905 it was renamed the Forest Service and 63 million acres of federal forest were transferred to the Department of Agriculture. Gifford Pinchot headed the agency during these key years and was chiefly responsible for the creation of the Forest Service bureaucracy that exists today.

Because this is a study of Forest Service cooperation rather than a history of the agency, Robbins only provides a brief outline of the origins of the Forest Service. It grew out of a somewhat tardy realization by an enlightened sector of the American public that the nation's forests had been systematically ravaged by the lumber industry and

early settlers with little or no thought for maintaining future reserves and adequate watershed. Indeed, during the early colonization of America, forested land symbolized savagery, the antithesis of civilization and the clearing of forested land was interpreted as progress.

American forestry and the height of the lumber trade "came of age" simultaneously in the first decade of the 20th century. Annual production of lumber reached an all-time high in 1906 and 1907. It is here that the author makes the key point of his study. First, he maintains that "... despite the popular belief that the John Muirs, the Sierra Club, and the Izaak Walton Leagues determined the character of the conservation movement in the early twentieth century, recent scholarship clearly shows that economic and political issues defined conservation arguments and policies." Concerning the nation's forests, the lumber industry had an economic interest in forest fire control, "... timberland taxes, duties on forest products imports, railroad rates, reforestation, varying sizes and grades of lumber, and the inefficient utilization of wood." However, the lumber industry was only interested in conservation measures that benefitted it from an economic standpoint. As Gifford Pinchot so aptly stated, "We must show first that forestry will pay."

Secondly, Robbins points out that the basic philosophy of the Forest Service came to embody a spirit of cooperation with the lumber industry rather than one of regulation. This philosophy grew out of the agency's early need to gain industry support in conservation and wise use of the nation's timber resources. The two chief foresters who served from 1910 to 1928, Henry Graves and William Greeley, were sympathetic to the lumber interests and in return received their support in lobbying Congress for needed funding. The spirit of Forest Service cooperation with private industry has continued to the present day with only minor interruptions, chiefly during the Great Depression.

Therefore, early forest conservation legislation reflects the input of the powerful lumber lobby and the economic and political motivation behind the laws. For instance, the Weeks Law of 1911 grew out of the large forest fires in the Pacific Northwest in 1910 that were disastrous to the lumber industry. The act permitted federal cooperation with states to protect private forestland on the watershed of navigable streams. The Clarke-McNary programs of the 1920s expanded federal assistance to states for fire protection by providing matching funds to establish nurseries, enlarge the national forest system and study state forest tax policy. More importantly, it represented a victory over those forces which sought to use the Forest Service to regulate industry. Industry leader Royal Kellogg later confided that the act "established '... the principle of federal cooperation' and routed the proponents of federal regulation." Basically the lumber industry was concerned with fire protection and had little interest in other conservation

measures such as reforestation. It is revealing that when Chief Forester Greeley resigned in 1928, he accepted an executive position with the West Coast Lumbermen's Association.

Forest Service cooperative programs were perhaps most evident during the Great Depression when the Civilian Conservation Corps was created to provide unemployment relief, and the shelterbelt tree planting program was employed to abate prevailing winds and lessen soil erosion. The outbreak of World War II ended these programs as war mobilization absorbed the unemployment roles. Chief Forester Silcox hinted at regulatory measures to assure "that lumbermen conducted themselves in a socially responsible manner." However, in practice, the Forest Service and private industry continued to cooperate, and President Roosevelt ordered all regulatory proposals shelved with the outbreak of war. Wartime priorities shifted to maximum production and fire control.

The author describes in great detail the various cooperative programs engaged in by the Forest Service after World War II to the present. Of greatest interest is the Multiple Use-Sustained Yield Act of 1960 which directed the Forest Service to consider all potential uses, including recreation and protection of cultural resources when developing management plans. The Forest Pest Control Act of 1947 offered federal technical and financial assistance to state forestry agencies to control insect outbreaks. The Forest Service ultimately drew harsh criticism from citizens' groups, spurred by the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, for the spraying of harmful pesticides like DDT. The Forest Service generally denied the harmful effects and aligned itself against these concerned groups. Robbins spends little time discussing the role of the Forest Service in administering important environmental legislation of the 1960s such as the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and clean air and water acts.

The work is well researched with fully referenced endnotes. While the author uses numerous examples of Forest Service cooperative programs in individual states such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, Washington, Oregon and California, there are no references to Wyoming or the Rocky Mountain region which would lend relevance to readers in this area. The author presents a myriad of factual material utilizing a spare and somewhat dry writing style not conducive to enjoyable reading. However, his main points are summarized at the end of each chapter, and the epilogue provides an excellent summary of the entire work. The study is perhaps best used as a reference tool which includes material not previously compiled in one source.

ROBERT G. ROSENBERG

The reviewer is a private historical consultant who has previously written articles for Annals of Wyoming.

The Reservation Blackfeet, 1885-1945: A Photographic History of Cultural Survival. By William E. Farr. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984) Index. Bib. Illus. Maps. 232 pp. \$19.95.

In the preface to a *World History of Photography* (1984) Naomi Rosenblum writes, "Because of their ubiquity, photographs . . . have served to confuse and to clarify, to lull and to energize. Interposed between people and their direct experiences, they often seem to glorify appearance over substance." It is exactly that glorification of appearance over substance which informs most of the work of frontier photographers who settled in the West during the pioneer phase and who augmented their portraits of farmers, ranchers and cowboys with photographs of Native Americans.

Often these frontier photographers deliberately manipulated Native American portraits to conform to stereotypes of "Indianness" to show Indians not as they were but as white men wanted to see them—a "vanishing race" lamentably being destroyed by the inexorable advance of civilization.

Even the survey photographers like W. H. Jackson, Timothy O'Sullivan and John K. Hillers, who went West on government sponsored surveys like the Hayden, the Wheeler and the King Expeditions, were not immune from posing Indians as they thought best. Karen Current in *Photography and the Old West* (1978) writes that ". . . the Indians were grouped, scattered, dressed, undressed (some with just one breast visible), and re-dressed." As eminent a scientist and geographer as John Wesley Powell clothed "some of the Southern Paiute Indians in buckskin and beaded dresses native to the Northern Utes."

The continuous 19th century confusion between race and culture and the absolute paucity of Native American photographs taken by Native Americans makes *The Reservation Blackfeet* an extraordinary study and one of great value to historians, anthropologists and everyone interested in photographic history. The premise of the book is very simple. Unlike most published studies of Indian photographs, this book is comprised of snapshots by naive amateurs who captured aspects of reservation life that the professional, ethnographic-oriented photographers had conspicuously ignored.

Photographers like William Sheriff Curtis, author of the multi-volume *The North American Indian*, spent years trying to arrange a particular photograph of three Piegan (Blackfeet) chiefs near a small buffalo wallow during high summer as clouds scuttled across the horizon. Curtis was extremely proud of this photo because of its symbolism, yet the composition had been invented by Curtis and did not reflect a spontaneous meeting of the three chiefs nor any aspect of the contemporary culture of the Blackfeet.

This book, *The Reservation Blackfeet*, is entirely different because it was developed with the approval and support of the Johnson-O'Mally Committee, Browning, Montana, and the Blackfeet Elders Honoray Council. Unlike late 19th

and early 20th century photographers who engaged in "salvage ethnography" to capture lifestyles and customs which had generally ceased to exist, the amateur photographers who contributed to this book show life on the reservation as it was actually lived. The images are in sharp contrast to the popular myth of the Blackfoot warrior seated on a painted horse, wearing a beaded necklace and carrying a feathered lance.

For instance there is nothing romantic about the photographs "Issuing old clothing at Old Agency, 1880s," "Issue day for beef rations at Blackfeet Agency" or "Reaching for entrails at the agency slaughterhouse." These photos are extremely important, however, because they show a society in transition as do the images "Sewing class, Cut Bank Boarding School, 1907," "Baking bread at the Willow Creek School, ca. 1907" and the football action shot of "James Bad Marriage running around end, Fort Shaw, ca. 1915."

William Farr's text gives the photographs meaning and significance by explaining them in context. University of Montana historian Farr describes the snapshot-quality of these photos and the aesthetic of the amateurs who created this valuable photographic record. In their eagerness to photograph Indians they paid little attention to formal composition.

Farr writes, "Aiming and clicking, they took pictures of cow camps, picnics, Fourth of July races, straight-eight Buicks, and kids . . . They blinked in dismay when their prints came back with trees emerging from heads, feet cut off, foreheads blurred . . . yet these shortcomings should not concern us for in the end they brought home to albums and drawing room boxes pieces of a tribal history."

The Reservation Blackfeet, 1882-1945 is a seminal work which reflects visual anthropology at its best. What professional photographers failed to accomplish because they

failed to see the mammoth social transformation to reservation life, was accomplished by amateurs who had no pretensions about their work. This may be one of the most important tribal histories ever published; initial research was undertaken by teachers at Browning School District No. 9 to help young Native Americans learn their tribal past.

The high school students were third-generation descendants of Blackfeet who had lived on the reservation yet they had no conception of their own roots and their own history. As the teachers sought photographs to help Indian youth understand reservation life, ". . . a haunting, vital question underlay so many glances, so many actions and decisions: how much could Indian people change and yet remain essentially Indian? Phrased in its crudest and most obvious form, if you don't look like a stereotype Indian, can you be one?"

As Farr notes in the preface to the book, "This conflict between change and cultural survival surfaced as the central theme of this photographic history." *The Reservation Blackfeet, 1882-1945* is a major scholarly work on several levels—visual anthropology, photographic history and social history. The book also fulfills tenets of local history by aiding people in comprehending and assimilating their own past. The photographs are carefully reproduced, the few maps are essential and the index provides easy reference.

The Blackfeet Elders Honorary Council, Farr and the University of Washington Press should all be commended for this important contribution to Western history which provides an intimate look at a proud people and an invaluable analysis of a society in transition.

ANDREW GULLIFORD

Gulliford is in the American Culture Ph.D. program at Bowling Green State University.

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The Wyoming State Historical Society was organized in October, 1953. Membership is open to anyone interested in history. County chapters of the society have been chartered in most of the twenty-three counties of Wyoming. Past presidents of the society include; Frank Bowron, Casper, 1953-55; William L. Marion, Lander, 1955-56; Dr. DeWitt Dominick, Cody, 1956-57; Dr. T. A. Larson, Laramie, 1957-58; A. H. MacDougall, Rawlins, 1958-59; Mrs. Thelma G. Condit, Buffalo, 1959-60; E. A. Littleton, Gillette, 1960-61; Edness Kimball Wilkins, Casper, 1961-62; Charles Ritter, Cheyenne, 1962-63; Neal E. Miller, Rawlins, 1963-65; Mrs. Charles Hord, Casper, 1965-66; Glenn Sweem, Sheridan, 1966-67; Adrian Reynolds, Green River, 1967-68; Curtiss Root, Torrington, 1968-69; Mrs. Hattie Burnstad, Worland, 1969-70; J. Reuel Armstrong, Rawlins, 1970-71; William R. Dubois, Cheyenne, 1971-72; Henry F. Chadey, Rock Springs, 1972-73; Richard S. Dumbrell, Newcastle, 1973-74; Henry Jensen, Casper, 1974-75; Jay Brazelton, Jackson, 1975-76; Ray Pendergraft, Worland, 1976-77; David J. Wadsen, Cody, 1977-78; Mabel Brown, Newcastle, 1978-79; James June, Green River, 1979-80; William F. Bragg, Jr., Casper, 1980-81; Don Hodgson, Torrington, 1981-82; Clara Jensen, Lysite-Casper, 1982-83; Fern Gaensslen, Green River, 1983-84; Dave Kathka, Rock Springs, 1984-85.

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ANNALS of WYOMING

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The function of the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department is to collect and preserve materials which tell the story of Wyoming. It maintains the state's historical library and research center, the Wyoming State Museum and branch museums, the State Art Gallery and the State Archives. The Department solicits original records such as diaries, letters, books, early newspapers, maps, photographs and art and records of early businesses and organizations as well as artifacts for museum display. The Department asks for the assistance of all Wyoming citizens to secure these documents and artifacts. Department facilities are designed to preserve these materials from loss and deterioration. The State Historic Preservation Office is also located in the Department.

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ABOUT THE COVER—An early photograph of "Old Main," when it housed the entire University of Wyoming. Wyoming Territorial Governor Francis E. Warren signed the act authorizing the establishment of the University on March 4, 1886. The bill also appropriated \$50,000 for the construction of a building, which would become known as Old Main. Construction began in 1886, with the cornerstone being laid September 27, 1886. One year later the University opened its doors to students. Today, Old Main is one of Wyoming's most distinctive public buildings and is on the National Register of Historic Places.



PHOTOGRAPH BY CRAIG MARKS

The editorial staff of *Annals of Wyoming* dedicate this issue to Bill Barton, who died September 21, 1986. Bill worked for the Wyoming State Archives, Museums and Historical Department since 1975. Beginning as a research historian, he eventually became head of the Historical Research and Publications Division. Bill's responsibilities included serving as Managing Editor of the Wyoming State Press, which produces numerous historical publications including the Calendar of Wyoming History. Bill was Editor of *Annals of Wyoming* since 1981.

ANNALS of WYOMING

Volume 58, No. 2

Fall, 1986

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FORT LARAMIE HIJINKS: A New Manuscript Account

by Thomas B. Brumbaugh

*"Why is Fort Laramie like a certain vehicle?"
"Cause It's Buggy"*

ALL PHOTOGRAPHS WYOMING STATE ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND HISTORICAL DEPT. (AMH)



Portrait of the Chugg Water Journal editors, (l to r) William Scott Ketchum, Dr. Samuel Preston Moore, Benjamin Stone Roberts and Stewart Van Vliet.

Europeans have coveted the silky pelt of the American beaver since early colonial times, and during the first half of the 19th century, tall beaver hats were among the most conspicuous male finery seen on the streets of American towns and villages. Beaver coats were worn by both men and women, while beaver "throws" and lap robes were sewn together for innumerable beds and used in every sort of conveyance at home and abroad. Buffalo hides were heavy and less luxurious, but also served these and a hundred other purposes, and the growing demand for furs and leather was met abundantly as the pioneers moved into western lands. What seemed to be an inexhaustible supply of "soft gold" was discovered by the first explorers of the territory around the junction of the North Platte and Laramie Rivers, and after 1812, French-Canadian and American trappers were to take a firm stand there.¹

By 1834, a log stockade named Fort William for its trapper-builder, William Sublette, had been erected near where the two rivers join, and a stable fur-trading economy was established there. Increasingly a place of refuge and refreshment for those early pioneers on the Oregon Trail, in 1835 it served a number of remarkable missionary-settlers and their followers, including Dr. Marcus Whitman and the Rev. Samuel Parker. On a second trip in 1836, Whitman brought along his wife and the Rev. and Mrs. Henry Spalding, among others. In 1837, the artist, Alfred Jacob Miller, came through on a western safari with a titled Scottish adventurer, Sir William Drummond Stewart, and made the only known drawings of old Fort William, leaving us a vivid record of their visit. Aside from the Indians whom he depicted, Miller also met there such famous scouts and mountain men of the period as Kit Carson, Jim Bridger and Joe Walker.

The gradual deterioration of Fort William led to its rebuilding by the American Fur Company in 1841, when it was renamed Fort John, presumably for John B. Sarpy, a stockholder in the enterprise. Meanwhile, competition from Fort Platte, built nearby, had only helped to promote Fort John's growth, and in 1842 Lieutenant John C. Fremont, making his first trip to explore the Rocky Mountains, recommended to authorities in Washington that it was a likely site for a military post. By 1843, the indomitable Whitman was once again traveling through the area, this time with as many as 1,000 persons in tow, and trade with the Sioux, Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, which had always surged around and into the fort, continued to expand. By then the fort was called Laramie after a French trapper, Jacques La Ramée, killed in 1821 by Indians in the vicinity.

In the spring of 1846, the young Francis Parkman visited Fort Laramie, and in his book, *The Oregon Trail*, wrote a lively description of its "inmates" and its

oblong form, with bastions of clay in the form of ordinary blockhouses, at two of the corners. The walls are about fifteen feet high, and surrounded by a slender palisade . . . Within, the fort is divided by a partition: on one side is the square area, surrounded by the store-rooms, offices, and apartments of the inmates; on the other is the *corral*, a narrow place,

encompassed by the high clay walls, where at night, or in presence of dangerous Indians, the horses and mules of the fort are crowded for safe keeping. The main entrance has two gates, with an arched passage intervening.²

It was to this shabby oasis in the wilderness that the first small group of Mormons came about a year later under the leadership of Brigham Young. By 1848, there were more than 4,000 "Saints," men, women and children, passing through each year on the way to Utah. Trade with them and others was brisk, as flour, coffee, sugar and feed for horses was readily available—for a price—but the fur-trading business was no longer lucrative. Clothing styles were changing and the beaver had been farmed to near extinction. It was time for the federal government to take seriously the recommendations Fremont had made some six years earlier.

Protection and service for the pioneers on the trail was a pressing problem, and Congress had delayed building a number of projected frontier forts during the costly Mexican War, but by early 1848, Fort Kearny was secure on the south bank of the Platte. By March, 1849, United States Adjutant General Roger Jones had ordered the establishment of an army post at Fort Laramie, and Lieutenant Daniel P. Woodbury of the Corps of Engineers was authorized to purchase the site and its buildings. In June, Major Winslow F. Sanderson, with Companies A and E, Mounted Riflemen, became the first garrison in charge. Company C, Mounted Riflemen, under Captain Benjamin S. Roberts, arrived in July, and in August, Company G, Sixth Infantry, under Lieutenant Levi C. Bootes, completed the command.

With the flood of at least 40,000 California-bound gold-seekers, perhaps 10,000 others en route to Oregon, added to some thousands of Mormons on the trail in 1849, it was imperative that Fort Laramie expand its facilities. Evidently much of the military command was put to construction work under the direction of Woodbury, and we know from a newly-discovered manuscript, *The Chugg Water Journal*, "published" in the copperplate handwriting of two, perhaps three, of the officers in charge, that by October, "Old Bedlam," a two-story officers' quarters, was ready for occupancy. In a caricature drawing of a cavalry drill, we recognize "Old Bedlam" with a puff of smoke rising from its chimney, and the nearby powder magazine as a backdrop to the scene. The same page reports in its unfailingly wry style:

Several pilgrims from the frontiers, bound for the Holy Land reached this place on the 19th inst. and have pitched their tents on the banks of *Deer creek*. Their object in coming out at this *delightful* season of the year, is doubtless to make an early dash next spring for the land of promise. As the grass is most *luxurious* here during the entire winter, if winter it can be called, when snow is *only* five feet deep on the level and the mercury frozen, their animals will doubtless rejoice at their good fortune, which has brought them from the barren fields of Missouri, Illinois and Indiana to such a *quadrupedal* Paradise. It is to be feared however, that these enterprising gold diggers, like the South Carolinian who took a running start of

three miles to clear a fence, but upon reaching it was obliged to dismount throw it down & walk quietly over: we say, that like this chivalrous gentleman, we fear our friends have taken too long a start, and by next spring they will find they have not expedited matters much, by throwing themselves & animals amongst the bleak spurs of the Rocky Mountains, at this season of the Year.

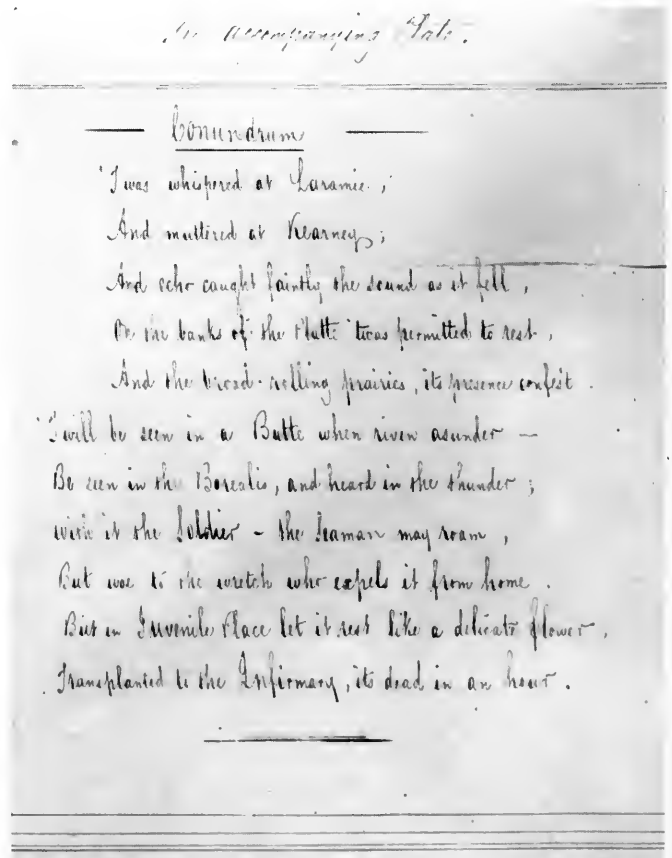
But something more must be said of *The Chugg Water Journal*, published "ADSUM AMICIS," which gives us a remarkable view of soldier life in a hardship post in Dakota Territory. The unique fifteen folio pages, labeled Vol I, No II, through Vol I, No VI, came to light recently, when an acquaintance of the writer, a "picker," looking for flea market items, bought an old trunk with some papers at the bottom, from an estate sale in New Jersey. The family name, he remembered, was Van Vliet, and it seems clear that Captain Stewart Van Vliet (later colonel and brevet major-general, U.S.A.) had preserved these pages long years after his tour of duty at Fort Laramie. There is no doubt that he is one of the "quartette" of editors whose charming portraits we have in two drawings of the group, and he may have been the author of part of the text. He certainly amended it in a number of places, as we see by his distinctive hand. The fragile manuscript was offered to this writer, who, admiring the naive illustrations, purchased it with some thought of its importance. After a little research, it was soon clear that most of the playfully disguised names of officers are identifiable. However, the name of that "most distinguished" artist at Fort Laramie unfortunately remains "sub rosa" and "incognito, for the time being, as he fears his *studio* might otherwise be too much crowded." We wish that the "beautiful drawing of Fort Laramie" that he made "con amore" might still survive with the manuscript, but we must assume it was awarded in the contest among those "person[s] who shall present us with the best original conundrum." It is a sad loss.

The four, but variously named, Fighting, Polemical and Poetical, Sporting, Miscellaneous and General Editors, all seem to have been fond of conundrums, jokes about military matters, hunting, music, marriage and the women and children of the fort, if not necessarily in that order. Following the conventions of such newspapers of the time as the *Missouri Republican*, which they imported from St. Louis, the *Chugg Water* has little news, and is a collection of mock correspondence, features, editorials, quotations and poetry. The "Mo. Republican," they noted, had but "little of general interest except a few weddings, deaths and murders." We are told in Volume I, Number II, that "the Journal although devoted to literature, science, and the fine arts, was chiefly established as the organ of the Chugg Water Mining Association . . . but not withstanding this, it will be devoted to the interests and prosperity of our town, and the edification and amusement of the Inhabitants." "The largest paper printed at Fort Laramie," it would appear "occasionally, and sometimes oftener, if not sooner." Its office was "directly opposite" the Juvenile

Infirmary, "under the hill, but still within hearing . . . when the wind is favorable."

Along with Henry J. Coke, an English traveler who visited the rough fort in July, 1850, we are only amazed to find among the inhabitants such attractive persons as "Captain Rhete and his wife, both very nice . . . particularly the wife. It seems the height of conjugal devotion on her part to give up all society and follow her husband to such a corner of the earth as this." The summer thermometer reached 146 degrees in the sun, Coke reports in his *A Ride Over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California*. In spite of the heat, he and the captain went hunting for wolves with the captain's greyhounds, and killed only a badger, "but not until Rhete had used his pistol, and pinned him to the ground with a large knife."³ Captain Thomas Grimke Rhett (+ 1878), to give his full name correctly, was certainly another editor of the *Chugg Water*, although his military titles were post adjutant and quartermaster. By 1863, he was a major and chief of ordnance, District of Arkansas, for the Confederate Army.

Before the discovery of *The Chugg Water Journal*, Coke's account was the only one that recorded something of the camaraderie of those first officers at Fort Laramie. He tells us of a dinner on July 21, 1850, with a Colonel Somer [sic], Major Thompson, Captains Dyer, Van Vliet, a Mr. Stillett and two unnamed traveling companions who "filled the little mess-room" of the newly-erected "Old Bedlam."



The editors were fond of conundrums; riddles whose answers are or involve puns.



Bear hunting near Fort Laramie as published in the Chugg Water Journal circa 1849.

We had a capital feed off a saddle of young elk and green peas; our appetites did justice to the occasion, and I doubt if we ever made a better dinner. The conversation ran upon general topics, and we were struck with the intelligence and information of the officers. In other respects, small blame to them, they were entirely Yankee—perhaps, a little more gentlemanlike and more hospitable than the generality of their countrymen. They seemed to want the cordiality that exists amongst brother officers in our army, and I believe, would “give out” if they were forbidden the use of the word, “Sir.” After all, this absence of formality, which is the nature of the beast, may be no great harm, for a familiar oath or a practical joke is often the prelude to unpleasant results.⁴

Can it be that these young officers were pompously exaggerating military etiquette, themselves playing a practical joke on their gullible English guests? The *Chugg Water* is so full of fun and nonsense that such “absence of familiarity” is surprising and seems out of character. However that may be, it is quite possible that their dinner conversation may have turned to current English literature, for a mock-indignant letter to the *Chugg Water* editors, attacking their “sneers at the helpless and innocent,” is signed by one “Sally Nipper,” whose name is surely adapted from Susan Nipper, the sympathetic but sharp-tongued maid who appeared in Charles Dickens’ *Dombey and Son*, published the year before. There are also “Phil Mayo” and “Susan Mildmay,” who may have popular-novel origins, and there are two woodcut illustrations pasted in the text, evidently clipped from English periodicals, pretending to show us the “Polemical Editor in a Meditative Mood,” and “John Love preparing for his final exit from Bachelor-dom.” A surgeon named “Fever,” and “Lieutenant Tubber” must be Fort Laramie fabrications.

Of the identifiable “Yankee” officers in the *Chugg Water* group, there are at least four who had graduated from West Point and would fight on opposing sides in the coming Civil War. That they knew some French and a little Latin, is clear, and there is more than a little evidence that they had read enough of English poetry and the Bible to have phrases come easily to mind in the writing. “We wished

indeed to obtain a niche in the Temple of Fame, and our ambition would have been satisfied with one in the lower story; but the Fates decreed it otherwise. ‘What Fates impose, that men must needs abide,’ ” they pontificated. Fortunately for their fame, they composed and illustrated the “Song of the Grisly Bears at Chugg Water”:

The Hunters are coming, Oho! Oho!

The Hunters are coming to lay us low,

R* * * * is coming, in his seven leagued boots,

M* * * ’ll be here, with the gun “he shoots.”

The Hunters are coming, Oho! Oho!

The Hunters are coming to lay us low.

V* * * V* * * is coming, and we must be going,

For he’s a mighty hunter we know.

Our skins he’ll have tann’d to make him a dress,

Our bones he’ll have bleach’d, to send to the East;

Our fat he’ll have try’d, to tallow his hair:

For he’s a sworn foe to the grisly bear.

The Hunters are coming etc.

(To the Tune of The Campbell’s are coming)

The names of Rhett and Van Vliet fall easily into place, and Dr. Samuel Preston Moore (1813-1889), later surgeon-general of the Confederacy on the staff of President Jefferson Davis, is the third. Post-war photographs show him wearing a prodigious pair of mutton chops, which may possibly be seen in early growth on the standing officer at the center of the editors’ group portrait.⁵ Moore may have served as Polemical and Poetical Editor and is the butt of jokes about his being chaplain and a “man of peace.” In an account of the “Battle of the Sand Pit,” he is named “Surgeon Mooreland,” whose conduct was “conspicuous” for “He charged *alone*, about 200 yards in the rear of the column.” “Coolness and presence of mind” was shown by his fellow-officer, Captain Thomas Duncan, alias Duckman, “who, upon finding that the Infantry were outstripping his mounted men in the charge, promptly ordered his men to dismount, and charge on foot.” As Poetry Editor, Moore may have served as something more than amanuensis to “Zulphé Ann,” an “extraordinary

...and they have not expected smaller snook, by throwing themselves
on a snook."

animals amongst the black furs of the Rocky Mountains, at this season of the

CAVALRY DRILL, FORT LARAMIE.



I see them on their winding way,

Cavalry drill on the Fort Laramie parade ground. "Old Bedlam" can be seen in the background.

young lady (she is but little over 40)" and contributed a bit of doggerel:

The Cheyennes! the Cheyennes! have come from below,
With the steel-pointed lance, and the long slender bow;

And are bound for the plains, on the Platte far above,
Where roams the fat Bison, that they so much love.

Stewart Van Vliet (1815-1901) at the "Battle of the Sand Pit" is called "Capt. Vander Venter," and we learn that "had he not been obliged to stop and light his pipe [he] would have been the first man in the enemy's camp." Old photographs further confirm that Van Vliet is the par-

ticularly hairy pipe-smoker who sits on the right of the group, the Chugg Water in hand. He was the "General Editor," we can confirm by his portrait as such above the "Song of the Grisly Bears," but judging by known examples of his bold, almost awkward autograph, we are able to eliminate him as the Chugg Water calligrapher or "that most distinguished" artist who made such delicate drawings.

If our logic is correct, Captain Rhett (Alias "Rhettwell") must be the booted "Sporting Editor" shown in one illustration, but it is also tempting to see the round face of Benjamin Stone Roberts (1810-1875) in the other seated officer. Given the aliases "Roberto" and "Signor Roberti,"



Illustration of the Journal's "Fighting Editor," who may have been William Scott Ketchum.

he is the subject of jokes about his musical skills as composer and performer "upon a novel instrument of his own invention." Whether for musical, editorial or other reasons, he seems to have been negligent of his duty and in 1851, as a lieutenant-colonel, was the subject of a general court-martial. Roberts was found guilty on all charges of allowing the theft of horses by the Indians, and the mistreatment of animals in the cavalry remuda under his command in 1849, but was returned to full duty nonetheless.⁶

The figure seated left in the editorial group, smoking a cigarette and wearing full uniform and sword, may be William Scott Ketchum (1813-1871), whose pleasant look is difficult to relate to the glowering expression we see in his Civil War photographs. He may be the "Fighting Editor" (shown "practicing" in a delightful drawing), and we are posed the not-too-difficult riddle of "Why is the Commander of the Infantry Company at the Post, a terror to evil-doers?" and we learn that it is: "Cause he Ketchum." Ketchum's war service was that of an inspector, recruiter and auditor for the U.S. Army, and it may be he whose correct and legible hand wrote some part of the *Chugg Water* text.⁷

"Multum in Parvo" is the motto inscribed over a drawing of "Juvenile Place." It was there in what must have been the very crowded living quarters of the old adobe Fort John, that married officers and their families were housed. There is much ado about "the large lake forming near the centre of Juvenile Place," and we are shown in a colored drawing, some of the typical activities around it. "By order of the Head Matron, Mrs. Jane Niper, Sec'y," writes a letter in which "bachelor editor no. 4" is threatened with "The full benefit of the musical concerto, nightly performed by the juvenile amateur—occasionally assisted by the Chaplain," as a fitting punishment for a disparaging remark about the "said Infirmary," also called the "Family block" and the "rue-des-enfants." The editor is asked to remember that he was once a *child*, and "probably innocent (when very young)." "A Married Man" who signs himself "Yours in bondage," writes a letter of warning about the menacing situation. A sundial that was erected for the benefit of the community, but by very peculiar logic, was to have helped keep husbands in "proper training . . . failed to accomplish one portion of what was expected of it."

Identifying Lieutenant Levi Clark Bootes (+ 1896) with Levi S. Bootmaker, Major Winslow F. Sanderson (+ 1899) with W.S. Sampson or Lieutenant Daniel Phineas Woodbury (1812-1864) with Lieutenant A. I. Demisemiquaver, is still an amusing task for the modern reader of the *Chugg Water*. Perhaps it is impossible ever to identify correctly, all of the some fifteen officers mentioned, with all of the references to them, their pictures and editorial respon-



John Love preparing for his final exit from "Bachelor-dom."

sibilities. No doubt it is enough that we have this revealing and ingenious document, every page of which brings to life a group of energetic and daring young men. In the fall and winter of 1849-50, Fort Laramie was a relatively quiet and routine tour of duty, and thus they caricature a hum-drum existence of soldierly waiting, relieved chiefly by military drill, scouting, hunting, panning for gold (?) and observing the women and children of the "Juvenile Infirmary." Their *Chugg Water Journal* is a surprising treasure, a unique documentation of hijinks and high good humor in the midst of ever-threatening danger along the Oregon Trail. In little more than a decade, these professional soldiers would be tested much more severely as Union and Confederate army officers in the great and terrible events of the Civil War.

1. My chief sources for the early history of Fort Laramie are David L. Hieb, *Fort Laramie National Site, Wyoming* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 20, 1954. Reprint 1961) and Le Roy Hafen and Francis Marion Young, *Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938).
2. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* with a foreword by A. B. Guthrie, Jr. (New York: The New American Library, 1962), pp. 83-84.
3. Henry J. Coke, *A Ride Over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California* (London, 1852), pp. 156-157.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
5. For the tentative identification of Moore and others, see their photographs in: Francis T. Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War in Ten Volumes* (New York: The Review of Reviews Co., 1912); Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1959); Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964).
6. *General Orders No. 11 . . . General Court Martial Convened at Fort Laramie, Oregon Route* (Washington: War Department, 1951).
7. Another candidate is S. P. Moore, who wrote a rather more flamboyant hand. Authentic autograph specimens by him and others I have studied, were of Civil War date or later, and thus are difficult to relate with complete certainty to the *Chugg Water* autographs.

MISPERCEPTION AND PUBLIC POLICY:

A Case Study Based on the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1829-1890

by Robert L. Munkres

In his very useful little book, *Why Nations Go to War*, Professor John Stoessinger postulates misperception as "perhaps the most important single precipitating factor" in the generation of open conflict between nation-states. It is the purpose of this paper to apply Stoessinger's concept (but *not* his typology of misperceptions) to selected 19th century relationships between the Federal Government and Native Americans as described in or extrapolated from Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs.

Of all officialdom at the national level, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was the one officer most directly involved on a continuing basis in Government-Indian relations. The information and "expert" opinion available to him on such matters, therefore, may be assumed to be at least on par with that available to others. It is further assumed that, as a Presidential appointee, the individual Commissioners would be fairly representative of those elected officials and bureaucrats dominant at the time. An examination of the Commissioner's Annual Reports ought, therefore, to yield some insights into the role of misperception vis-a-vis the formulation and implementation of Federal Indian Policy during the 19th century.

Misperception as a result of ignorance, always a live possibility in the policy process, is both more likely and more difficult to deal with when truly vast cultural differences separate the participants. Thus, for purposes of this study, I will deal with misperception at two different but related levels. On the first level, one encounters misperception arising from observable and recognized differences in values, processes and goals. Merely recognizing the existence of differences *in re* a particular subject certainly does not guarantee an accurate appraisal of the position of either participant nor of the relationships between them. The second level of misperception is probably the more difficult contemporaneously to recognize. It involves, not a recognition of differences, but an assumption of equivalence or similarity, accomplished by the projection of one participant's values onto the other(s). At this very fundamental level, substantially antithetical substantive and procedural values may, in fact, exist, but similarity or equivalence is simply assumed.

Without doubt, the misperception that was both most pervasive and most influential in shaping policy development was that of Indian generic and genetic inferiority. In the population at large, references to the inferiority of In-

dians was very frequently accompanied by assertions, varied in vigor and vehemence, of white superiority. While the Commissioners of Indian Affairs generally eschewed stark statements to that effect, they accepted without question their validity. In 1862, William Dole, for instance, spoke of the inability of Indians to compete "with their superiors in intelligence and those acquirements which we consider so essential to success."¹ A little over seven years later, the report to President Andrew Johnson from the Indian Peace Commission stipulated the acceptance by its members of "the ever ready argument that civilization must not be arrested in its progress by a handfull of savages."² Expressing their own firm desire to see the country's "agricultural and mineral wealth developed by an industrious, thrifty and enlightened population," the report's authors then took cognizance of "the fact that the Indian must not stand in the way of this result."³

While white superiority was a virtually unchallenged and unchallengeable belief during the 19th century, the assumption of Indian inferiority gave rise to a modest difference of opinion. A minority opinion, reflected in the 1851 report of Commissioner Luke Lea, held that the Indian "possesses all the elements essential to his elevation . . . and which only need the proper development and direction to enable him to tread with equal step and dignity the walks of civilized life."⁴ Lea concluded "that his [Indians] inferiority is a necessity of his nature, is neither taught by philosophy nor attested by experience."⁵ Some five years later, in November, 1856, George Manypenny partially concurred. Though an Indian's "courage is undoubted, his perception quick, and his memory of the highest order. . . . His judgment is defective, but by proper training and discipline his intellectual powers are susceptible of culture and can be elevated to a fair standard."⁶

In like manner, E. A. Hayt (1878) recommended that the government "move slowly in the process of making Indians citizens . . .," noting that "Indians of full age are infants in law."⁷ "Entire civilization," he went on, "with education, a knowledge of the English language, and experience in business forms and matters, especially such as relate to the conveyance of lands, should precede citizenship if it is the intention of the government to save the Indians from pauperism and extermination."⁸

To the extent written statements accurately reflect the basic beliefs of their authors, however, majority opinion vis-a-vis Native Americans was considerably less sanguine. From T. Hartley Crawford (1838) to Edward Smith (1875), Francis Walker (1872) and Hiram Price (1882) a dim view of Indians predominated. According to Crawford, "Equality he [an Indian] does not and cannot possess . . .,"⁹ while Walker complained "It is always a weary work to lift any man or people from degradation to self-respect, self-restraint, and self-reliance. . . ."¹⁰ In working with Indians, he added, one encountered in addition "the exceptional difficulty of a nature singularly trivial, and habits

singularly incompatible with civilized forms of life and industry."¹¹ Smith alluded to the popular image of Indians as "children, utterly unable to comprehend their own great necessities . . .,"¹² and Price expressed what was in all likelihood a predominant view when he stated categorically that Indians "are an untutored and untractable people, who are naturally indolent, improvident, and shiftless, and very impatient of restraint or discipline."¹³

On the subject of presumed Indian inferiority, Walker perhaps deserves the final word. In his report for 1872, he agreed with those who criticized and ridiculed government policy on the grounds it represented "temporizing with a recognized evil . . .,"¹⁴ but noted that "Temporizing as an expedient in government may be either a sign of weakness and folly, or it may be a proof of the highest wisdom. . . . [Particularly] when an evil is in its nature self-limited, and tends to expire by the very conditions of its existence. . . ."¹⁵ After all, he argued, "There is no question of national dignity . . . involved in the treatment of savages by a civilized power. With wild men, as with wild beasts, the question whether in a given situation one shall fight, coax, or run, is a question merely of what is easiest and safest."¹⁶

With attitudes such as those just described dominating the policy process, it is small wonder that the Indian Peace Commission Report to President Andrew Johnson in January, 1868, included the following observation: "Whatever our people may choose to say of the insincerity or duplicity of the Indian would fail to express the estimate entertained by many Indians of the white man's character in this respect."¹⁷

The range of opinions concerning the educability of Native Americans was not matched by attitudes toward the educational process itself. Particularly in the Indian Service, the desirability of Indian education was generally accepted, as were a number of goals and the method of achievement. Throughout the century, there was much support for the opinion expressed in 1832 by Commissioner Elbert Herring:

If there be any human means of directing the intelligence of the Indian from its narrow and contracted sphere, to enlarged and comprehensive views, it must exist in the cultivation of knowledge, operating to expand and improve the mental faculties. The lessons of early instruction rarely fail to carry their impress to after life. Indian children evince a faculty of acquirement no wise inferior to those of European origin. . . .¹⁸

The optimism implicit in Herring's pronouncement stood in stark contrast to the culturally narrow, but well defined, educational goals almost universally accepted, as well as to the methods that were presumed appropriate to their achievement. The virtually unquestioned purpose of education was the dismantling and destruction of Indian cultural values, and their replacement by values deemed congruent to those held by white society. Teaching Indian children the English language was easily defensible on the pragmatic grounds of social usefulness. Without

denying its utilitarian effect, however, most justifications leaned heavily on assertions of cultural superiority. The remarks of J.D.C. Atkins in 1886 are a case in point. No Indian student whose education was being supported by the United States Government "is permitted to study any other language than our own vernacular—the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities beneath the sun."¹⁹ "The English language as taught in America," he concluded, "is good enough for all her people of all races."²⁰

That the purpose of education was nothing short of cultural indoctrination was unapologetically announced in October, 1889, by T. J. Morgan. With no apparent consideration of possible opposition, Morgan asserted that Indian children "should be taught to look upon America as their home and upon the United States Government as their friend and benefactor."²¹ There is no record of contemporary comment concerning the intellectual oddity of indigenous inhabitants being instructed about the location of their home by latter-day immigrants!

Indian children, according to Morgan, "should be made familiar with the lives of great and good men and women in American history, and be taught to feel a pride in all their great achievements."²² This "Great Man" approach to history was not unique to Indian education, of course, but its culturally coercive nature is readily apparent in what was to be ignored. Native Americans, Morgan recommended, "should hear little or nothing of the 'wrongs of the Indians,' and of the injustice of the white race. If their unhappy history is alluded to it should be to contrast it with the better future that is within their grasp."²³

Two more points need to be noted regarding Indian education. First, the implied coercive nature of the educational process was not restricted to cultural values nor, secondly, was its aim totally secular. Physically and psychologically coerced participation in Indian education was taken by many to be a prerequisite to success. Walker (1872) for instance, believed it unreasonable "to expect that the wild Indians will become industrious and frugal except through a severe course of industrial instruction and exercise, under restraint."²⁴ Walker's assumption was, perhaps, operationalized with "the establishment of a training school . . . at Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle, Pa. under the immediate charge of Lieut. R. H. Pratt."²⁵ Referring to a student body "consisting of 158 Indian children of both sexes, three-fourths of whom are boys," Hayt (1879) reported that "These children have been taken in large numbers from the Sioux at Rosebud, Pine Ridge and other agencies on the Missouri River, and from all the tribes in the Indian Territory except the civilized Indians."²⁶ In too many instances the phrase "had been taken" represented a literal statement of fact.

That the aim of education was not exclusively social and secular was manifest in the connection posited in the 19th century between "civilization" and Christianity. In

view of this widely accepted link, it is not surprising that most officials involved in Indian Affairs believed evangelism and education to be complementary processes. Indeed, Price (1882) went so far as to conclude that "Civilization is a plant of exceeding slow growth, unless supplemented by Christian teaching and influences."²⁷ Not surprisingly, Price saw "the labours of Christian men and women as educators and missionaries" as a "very important auxiliary in transforming men from savage to civilized life . . .," thereby reclaiming them "from barbarism, idolatry, and savage life. . . ."²⁸

Insofar as the efficacious cultural conversion of Indian students was concerned, one other problem boded large in the thinking of Indian Affairs officialdom. Throughout the 19th century, there was a continuing concern about what might be called the phenomenon of "intellectual retrogression." In 1826, Thomas L. McKenney alluded to it with a rhetorical question, asking "If, after they [Indians] shall have acquired a knowledge of letters, and of the arts, they are thrown back into uneducated Indian settlements, is it not to be apprehended that the labor of instructing them, and the expense attending it, will be lost?"²⁹ To obviate this unhappy possibility, McKenney suggested that, after education had prepared Indian young people "to enter upon a course of civilized life, sections of land be given to them, and a suitable present to commence with, of agricultural or other implements suited to the occupations in which they may be disposed, respectively, to engage."³⁰

Some 60 years later, Atkins included a virtually identical recommendation in his annual report; two changes, though, are worth noting. Like McKenney before him, Atkins called for assisting educated Indians in "purchasing a team, in breaking and fencing land, and in building a house."³¹ Atkins, however, reduced the proposed acreage of the homestead from the section (640 acres) earlier called for to the congressionally established figure of 160 acres. Further, he also stipulated that the appropriation be open only to those Indian males "who shall graduate from school and marry an Indian maiden who has also graduated. . . ."³² This combination of requirements and inducements would, in Atkins' opinion, "greatly encourage Indian youths and maidens in their resistance to the evil and savage influences of their untutored friends, and would do much to keep them from a return to savage life."³³

No one has provided a neater summary of 19th century policy in the field of Indian education than did Commissioner T. J. Morgan in October, 1889. Pointing out the centrality of primary schools in overcoming "the lack of home training," Morgan advanced three specific recommendations: (1) "children should be taken at as early an age as possible, before camp life has made an indelible stamp upon them." (2) "The instruction should be oral and objective, and in the highest degree simplified. Music should have prominence, and the most tireless attention



ALL PHOTOGRAPHS AMH DEPT.

General William T. Sherman and Commission in council with Indian Chiefs at Fort Laramie. Circa 1867-68.

should be given to training in manners and morals. No pains should be spared to insure accuracy and fluency in the use of idiomatic English." (3) "The care of the children should correspond more to that given in a 'Children's Home' than to that of an ordinary school."³⁴

Morgan was even more succinct in summarizing the thrust and purpose of educational policy.

The tribal relations should be broken up, socialism destroyed, and the family and the autonomy of the individual substituted. The allotment of lands in severalty, the establishment of local courts and policy; the development of a personal sense of independence, and the universal adoption of the English language are means to this end.³⁵

Given the continuing emphasis on the need to integrate Indian youth into white value systems through education, there is a tragic irony apparent when one considers another even more firmly supported facet of Federal Indian Policy—the policy of Indian Removal. Juxtaposing these two policies results in a curious socio-political equation. Indian survival required replacement of tribal values with white values through education. Indian survival required that Indians be removed from any substantial territorial or "social" contact with whites. Thus, it appears that Indian survival required that educated Indians be isolated both from their own people as well as from those whose values had been imposed upon them.

The support for a policy of removal was constant throughout the 19th century. First, the call was for removal to Indian Territory west of the Mississippi, then to what is today Oklahoma, and finally to designated reservations. It must, however, be stressed that much white support for removal was, in fact, based on a real concern for Indian welfare. McKenney spoke for many when, in 1828, he raised the question,

What are humanity and justice in reference to this unfortunate race? Are these found to lie in a policy that would leave them to linger out a wretched and degraded existence, within districts of country already surrounded and pressed upon by a population whose anxiety and efforts to get rid of them are not less restless and persevering, than is that law of nature immutable, which has decreed, that, under such circumstances, if continued in, they must perish? Or does it not rather consist in withdrawing them from this certain destruction, and placing them, though even at this late hour, in a situation where, by the adoption of a suitable system for their security, preservation, and improvement, and at no matter what cost, they may be saved and blest?³⁶

For people like McKenney there was, of course, always the problem of Indian willingness, or lack thereof, to be removed. McKenney believed he had evidence that most tribesmen were in favor of moving to new territory, "but they are held in check by their chiefs and others, whose interest it is to keep them where they are."³⁷ "And to this

feeling," he went on, "may be superadded the uncertainty which rests upon the future, drawn from the lessons of the past."³⁸ What might be the solution to these problems? For McKenney, "The presence of an armed force would effectually relieve the first; and the adoption of a system for their security, and preservation, and future happiness, that should be as effective and ample as it ought to be permanent, would relieve the last."³⁹ More will be said later about the use of the military as an instrument of policy implementation. Suffice it here merely to note that McKenney categorically stipulated that military power was to be used "not to compel a single Indian to quit the place of his choice, but only to *protect* those who desire to better their condition, and in the exercise of their wish to do so."⁴⁰

As already indicated at some length, the Indian Office's rationale for removal was, with very few exceptions, phrased in terms of benefiting the "recipients" of the policy. At least two principal advantages were, with some consistency, attributed to Indian removal. The first represented a curious inversion of what had, for all practical purposes, become mandatory acknowledgments of Indian inferiority. As early as 1832, Herring, in writing about the "contiguity of white settlements" to Indians, described such contact as invariably tending "to depreciate the Indian character. The evil was always without counterbalance of possible good, either present or in reversion."⁴¹ Thirty years later, William P. Dole was equally explicit. "A fruitful source of difficulty," he noted, "is found in the fact that most of the reservations within this superintendency are surrounded by white settlements; and it has heretofore been found impossible to prevent the pernicious effects arising from the intercourse of vicious whites with the Indians."⁴² By the time of Dole's report in 1862, officialdom was quite cognizant of the fact that separation of Indians and whites could only be accomplished, if at all, by removing the Indians rather than by attempting to restrain whites.

The second principal argument had to do with the quality and the amount of land available to which tribesmen could be removed. Operational assumptions in regard to both matters were possessed of serious flaws. In 1876, J. Q. Smith expressed considerable doubt as to "whether even white people could cultivate profitably the greater part of the Sioux reservation in Dakota," then concluded that "In the Indian Territory, on the other hand, are fertile land, a genial climate, and room for more Indians than there are in the whole Union."⁴³ Both points, fertility and sufficiency of acreage, were advanced again and again. Such wealth as subsequently came to be generated in Oklahoma, however, did not come in significant degree from agricultural productivity. And the acreage made available was sufficient (*if* fertility had been a fact) only if one also accepts the implicit assumption that no Indian family would have more than one child to whom an estate could descend.

The true reason for removal was, of course, the fact

of white expansion. Among others, Walker (1872) recognized that a terrible cost was being exacted. "We are richer by hundreds of millions; the Indian is poorer by a large part of the little that he has. This growth is bringing imperial greatness to the nation; to the Indian it brings wretchedness, destitution, beggary."⁴⁴

To say the least, a majority found little use for Walker's assessment. As early as 1838, in fact, it had even been argued by Crawford that removing Indians could be likened to the mobility of the white population "in the numerous changes of residence that considerations of bettering their condition are daily producing."⁴⁵ Crawford went so far as to stipulate that such moves were harder on a white who was "accompanied by his family only, [while] the Indians go by tribes, carrying with them all the pleasures of ancient acquaintance, common habit, and common interests." Indians also, according to Crawford, benefited "from their condition not favoring the indulgence of the finer feelings."⁴⁷

J. Q. Smith (1876) summarized what he thought to be the most important goals of Indian policy. "First. Concentration of all Indians on a few reservations. Second. Allotment to them of lands in severalty. Third. Extension over them of United States law and the jurisdiction of United States courts."⁴⁸ Having dealt with attitudes toward Smith's first point, we now move to the second—a consideration of the matter of land ownership and land use.

That Indians would oppose loss of their lands and resist efforts to alter their life style should have come as no surprise—and to most whites it did not. Walker, writing in 1872, was probably representative when he observed that "It was not to be expected—it was not in the nature of things—that the entire body of wild Indians should submit to be restrained in their Ishmaelish proclivities without a struggle on the part of the more audacious to maintain their traditional freedom."⁴⁹ The manner in which Walker made his point, however, is strongly suggestive of the presumptive superiority of white claims. In this respect, Walker was again quite representative of general white attitudes. The Indian Peace Commission, reporting to President Johnson in January, 1868, clearly recognized the likely policy outcome of such a presumption. "If the lands of the white man are taken," the Commission report reads, "civilization justified him in resisting the invader. . . . If the savage resists, civilization, with the ten commandments in one hand and the sword in the other, demands his immediate extermination."⁵⁰

Whites could recognize, if not respond to, the motive force behind Indians' defense of land and liberty. They could not, however, see any justification for or legitimacy implicit in Indian concepts of land use. From the earliest times, white authority unquestioningly accepted the efficacy of small private land-holdings, together with farming, as "civilizing instruments."

Hunting was opposed on the grounds of poor economic productivity as well as an impediment to accultura-

tion. From an economic point of view, the disappearance of game (much of it killed or driven off by white activities) and the lack of new hunting grounds made inevitable, in the eyes of policy-makers, either "the civilization or the utter destruction of the Indians. . . ." ⁵¹ The "cultural" objections to hunting stemmed from the perception that it measurably slowed, if not precluded, the Indians' progress toward becoming "civilized." With the disappearance of game, the amount of land earlier ceded to the tribes was deemed to be excessive also. As Orlando Brown (1849) pointed out,

Most if not all of them [Indians] possess an extent of country which, however desirable originally, with reference to their maintaining themselves by the chase, now . . . is not only of no use, but a positive disadvantage to them, as it has a tendency to keep them from concentrating and applying themselves with any regular or systematic effort to agriculture and other industrial pursuit. ⁵²

In addition to the presumptive cultural superiority of farming over hunting, there were at least two additional facets of this policy area that merit specific attention—the nature and purpose of private land ownership and the consensus which developed vis-a-vis inducing Indians to work the land.

White authority frequently assigned to such legal concepts as holding title in fee simple and distributing land in severalty an importance and impact more ideological than pragmatic in nature. All through the 19th century, individual ownership of land was, in the most glowing terms, described as an irreplaceable component of "civilization," "progress" and "prosperity." Thus, in 1832, Herring noted that "the habits and prejudices incident to savage birth" could be overcome only "by the institution of separate and secure rights in the relations of property and person." ⁵³ Six years later, Crawford was even more sweeping in his judgment. "Common property and civilization cannot co-exist," he wrote, for "at the foundation of the whole social system lies individuality of property." ⁵⁴ Such singularly positive attitudes dominated nearly a century of policy-making. Atkins (1885) for example, believed "The advantages to the Indians of taking their land in severalty are so important and far-reaching in their effects that I fear to dwell upon them . . . lest I be accused of drawing a roseate picture born of an enthusiastic imagination." ⁵⁵

Not all 19th century officials were so grandiose in their descriptions and expressions of support for private ownership of land—but firm their support was nonetheless. Dole (1862) felt that "becoming individual owners of the soil [was] a step which I regard as the most important in their [Indians'] progress towards civilization." ⁵⁶ In like manner, Smith (1876) was "doubtful whether any high degree of civilization is possible without individual ownership of land," ⁵⁷ and Price (1881) assigned to the allotment of individual land holdings "the effect of creating individuality, responsibility, and a desire to accumulate property." ⁵⁸ Not

only does it teach "the Indians habits of industry and frugality," individual ownership would also have the happy effect of thus relieving "the government of large annual appropriations." ⁵⁹

The glowing possibilities so eloquently spelled out by white officialdom consistently encountered, among others, one fundamental barrier to consummation. That barrier can be best described as a continuing question, "How can potential recipients of this cornucopia of opportunity best be induced to accept it?" During the last half of the century a very specific answer to that question was repeatedly promulgated. As early as 1858, Commissioner Charles E. Mix had recommended not only the distribution of land in severalty, but that individual Indian assignees be "required to remain on his own tract and . . . cultivate it." ⁶⁰ Thus binding people to the land is, of course, not too far removed from a form of serfdom since the Indian "owners" could neither leave the land nor sell it.

Mix appears to have been very much in the mainstream of policy-implementation thinking. Walker (1872), for instance, felt that Indians had to be made to realize "that if they would eat they must also work. Nor should it be left to their own choices how miserably they will live, in order that they may escape work as much as possible." ⁶¹ "The Government," he went on, "should extend over them a rigid reformatory discipline, to save them from falling hopelessly into the condition of pauperism and petty crime." ⁶² Three years later, Edward P. Smith referred to "the necessity . . . to compel Indians, through the moral suasion of hunger, to do that which they dislike . . ." ⁶³ and Price (1881) called for giving Indians "every facility for making a comfortable living, and then *compel* him to depend upon his own exertions for a livelihood." ⁶⁴ Only through the use of such rigorous techniques could what John H. Oberly (1888) described as "the degrading communism of the tribal reservation system [which] gives to the individual no incentive to labor, but puts a premium upon idleness and makes it fashionable" be eliminated. ⁶⁵

The civilizing efficacy of allotment, severalty and private ownership of land, which was described with such moral fervor, was clearly only one of the benefits of policies directed toward those goals. The other major purpose, very simply stated, was to reduce Indian land-holdings so as to increase the amount of land available for white settlement. In 1858, Mix called for a policy of locating "the different tribes on reservations embracing only sufficient land for their actual occupancy. . . ." ⁶⁶

Through the years, of course, various treaties and agreements had recognized Indian rights to a far larger territory than that contemplated by Mix as appropriate for inclusion in reservations. White reaction to such treaty rights was summarized quite accurately by Commissioner Smith in October, 1876. "There is," he wrote, "a very general and growing opinion that observance of the strict letter of treaties with Indians is in many cases at variance both with their own best interests and with sound public

policy."⁶⁷ Since "Public necessity must ultimately become supreme law," Smith continued, "their highest good will require these people to take ample allotments of land in severalty . . . and to surrender the remainder of their lands to the United States Government for a fair equivalent."⁶⁸

How much land, one might reasonably ask, was thus to be "surrendered?" In September, 1890, Morgan

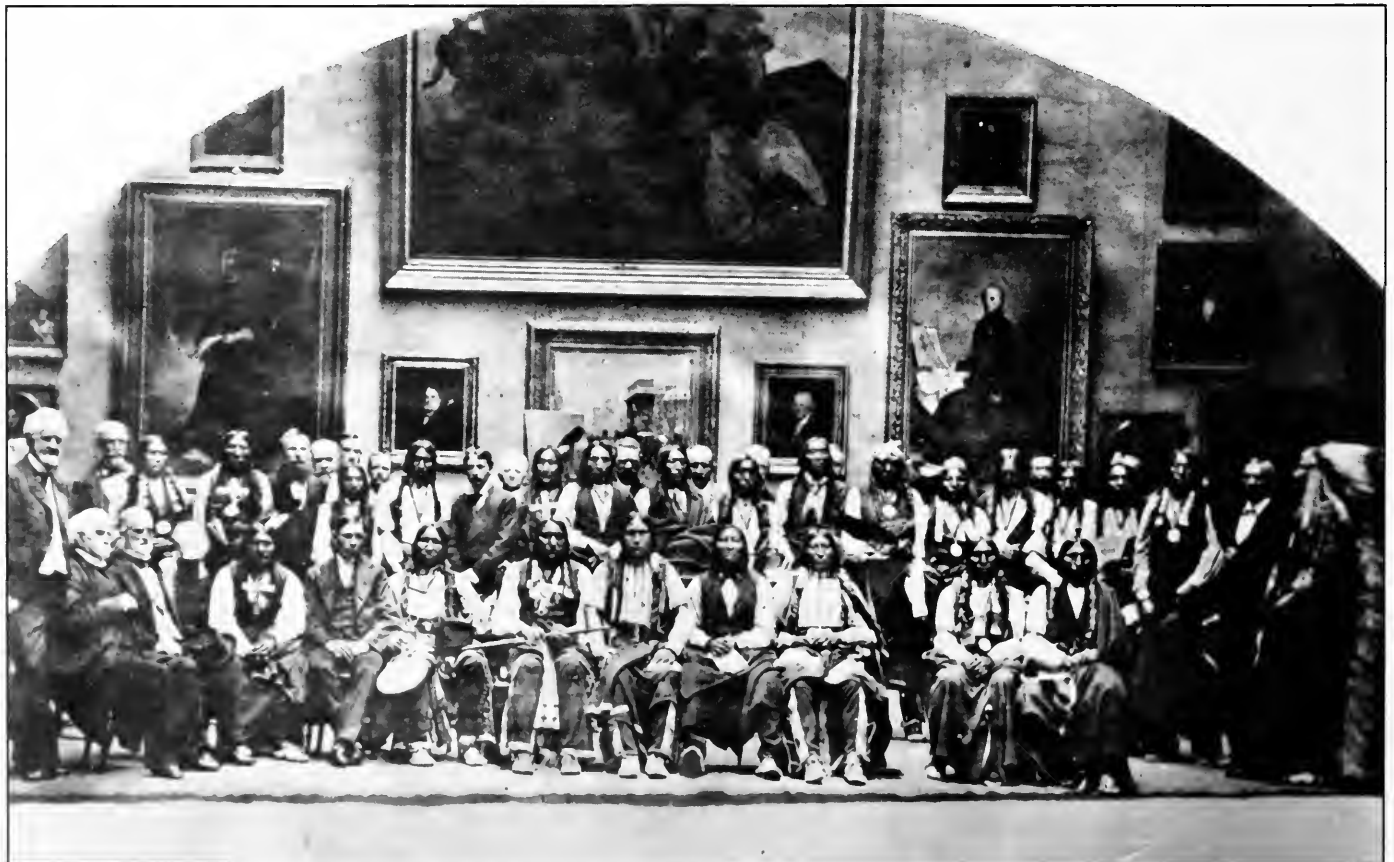
estimated that under . . . special legislation . . . about 13,000,000 acres of land have been secured by cession from the Indians during the past year; and there are agreements now pending before Congress through which, if ratified, the Government will acquire some 4,500,000 acres more; all of which will . . . be open to white settlement in the near future.⁶⁹

"This might seem like a somewhat rapid reduction of the landed estate of the Indians," Morgan admitted, but the relinquishment was quite justified because "for the most part the land relinquished was not being used . . . , scarcely any of it was in cultivation, . . . the Indians did not need it and would not be likely to need it at any future time, and . . . they were . . . reasonably well paid for it. . . ."⁷⁰ In addition to these arguments, Morgan also concluded that "the sooner the tribal relations are broken up and the reservations system done away with the better it will be for all concerned."⁷¹ With the accomplishment of this "settled policy of the Government," Morgan

prophesied, "The American Indian is to become the Indian American."⁷²

The acquisition of Indian lands by treaty, act of Congress or through some type of agreement was almost always accompanied by a stipulation of the payment to be made. One of the most frequently utilized forms of recompense was the distribution of annuities. Thus, as Indian land-holdings were reduced and reservation life increasingly became the norm, payment by the government of annuities came to be a feature of Indian Policy as pervasive as it was controversial. Though such payments were initially authorized as compensation for rights or land surrendered by the tribes, their continuation for the life of the agreement generated considerable controversy. To put it bluntly, white authority found it useful to promise payments to the Indians in order to secure from the latter whatever was desired; the same authority, however, came to resent such payments once the benefits acquired by the "bargain" were firmly in hand.

During the latter half of the 19th century, annuity payments were attacked as a barrier to "civilizing" the recipients. Thus, Lea, writing in 1851, decried the difficulty of trying to "arouse the spirit of enterprise in the Indian . . .," which difficulty resulted largely from "the debasing influence of the annuity system."⁷³ And this opinion was still going strong 30 years later, as reflected in Walker's stark judgment:



Indian delegation under Spotted Tail at Washington, D.C. 1877. Taken at Corcoran Gallery of Art.

It must be apparent to the most casual observer that the system of gathering the Indians in bands or tribes on reservations and carrying to them victuals and clothes, thus relieving them of the necessity of labor, never will and never can civilize them. Labor is an essential element in producing civilization. If white men were treated as we treat the Indians the result would certainly be a race of worthless vagabonds.⁷⁴

It is quite clear that government officialdom objected to the manner in which Indians chose to use their annuity goods and payment to an extent at least equal to those raised against the payments themselves. Apparently living, even poorly, off what would today be called "unearned income," while appropriate for a small segment of white society, was deemed deleterious for Indians.

We now proceed to the third of the goals described by Smith in 1876. As noted above, that goal was "Extension over them [Indians] of United States law and the jurisdiction of United States courts."⁷⁵ Describing efforts to achieve this goal resolves itself into an examination of two related topics: first, the methods and techniques through the use of which the Government could enforce its laws and policy prescriptions and, secondly, the role of the military as an instrument of policy implementation.

As seen by Commissioners of Indian Affairs, perhaps the most fundamental requirement of effective Indian Policy was that of enforcing the law vis-a-vis Indians in the manner considered appropriate in white society. If someone breaks the law or violates a regulation, they must be arrested and punished. What manner of punishment might appear to be appropriate? To this question both Brown (1849) and Hayt (1879) provide answers. For Brown, "the only effectual remedy . . . will be for Congress to make provision for the trial of offenders . . . in some appropriate manner, and for their punishment, by death, hard labor at the military posts, or otherwise, according to the nature and aggravated character of the offense."⁷⁶ Brown also recommended that the government assume jurisdiction and administer punishment, in "cases of theft or robbery, and of habitual or repeated intemperance among the members of a tribe. . . ."⁷⁷

Writing 30 years later, Hayt called for removal as well as punishment of recalcitrants. To accomplish this dual purpose, "A penal settlement for the confinement and reformation of the more turbulent and troublesome individuals among the various Indian tribes is a pressing want. . . ."⁷⁸ He went on to assert the need for two types of such "settlements,"

For the worst class of refractory Indians, one settlement should be in Florida, which is far enough away from Indian reservations to make any attempt at escape hopeless. Another settlement should be established in the Northwest, at some point where a considerable quantity of arable land can be found, so that Indians who are thus restricted in their liberty may be taught to work for their support.⁷⁹

That this was a call to enforce white authority's rules on Indians was apparent, but true "equality under the law" was hardly contemplated. At least two key dif-

ferences between whites and Indians were noted by Commissioners Walker (1872) and Smith (1874) respectively. If a white man did not like a particular law, he was legally free to leave its jurisdiction; Walker, however, considered it to be "Especially . . . essential that the right of the Government to keep Indians upon the reservations assigned to them, and to arrest and return them whenever they wander away, should be placed beyond dispute."⁸⁰ It remained for Smith to note another form of unequal application of the law. "If a white man commits depredations upon the Indians in their own country," he wrote, "no penalty is provided beyond that of putting him out of the country, a penalty which he readily takes upon himself when escaping with his booty."⁸¹

In addition to arrest and incarceration as techniques of law enforcement and policy implementation, two other major changes were recommended—one an immediate structural change in the political system and the other a long-term, permanent alteration of social patterns. The structural reform and its rationale were both straightforwardly described by Atkins (1886) in the most vigorous terms. Atkins proposed that tribal authority over Indian land be replaced by territorial governments; in his view, the power of Congress to implement such a change was superior to treaty-guaranteed Indian rights.

While I would greatly prefer that these people should voluntarily change their form of government . . . These Indians have no right to obstruct civilization and commerce and set up an exclusive claim to self-government . . . and then expect and claim that the United States shall protect them from all harm, while insisting that it shall not be the ultimate judge as to what is best to be done for them in a political point of view.⁸²

So far as relations between Indians and white officialdom was concerned, the notion that the "Government knows best" was even more blatantly stated two years later by John Oberly. The long-term alteration in social patterns for which he spoke out was to be accomplished by the complete "assimilation [of Indians] with the masses of the Republic."⁸³ Indian values must be replaced with Anglo-European values; each Indian "must be imbued with the exalting egotism of American civilization, so that he will say 'I' instead of 'We,' and 'This is mine,' instead of 'This is ours.'"⁸⁴

That Indians might resist this "exalting egotism," was a problem which Oberly faced without flinching. If Indians "shall continue to persist in saying 'I am content; let me alone,' then the Guardian must act for the Ward, and do for him the good service he protests shall not be done—the good service that he denounces as a bad service."⁸⁵ And should Indian "wards" persist in their recalcitrance, "The Government must then, in duty to the public, compel the Indian to come out of his isolation into the civilized way that he does not desire to enter. . . ."⁸⁶

As the 19th century drew to a close, what had always been implicit in Indian Policy became starkly explicit. Indian ways and values were not to be permitted to survive.

"The Indians must conform to 'the white man's ways,' peaceably if they will, forcibly if they must. They must adjust themselves to their environment, and conform their mode of living substantially to our civilization."⁸⁷ Thus concluded Commissioner Morgan in 1889, admitting that "This civilization may not be the best possible, but it is the best the Indians can get. They cannot escape it, and must either conform to it or be crushed by it."⁸⁸

From the point of view of Indian Affairs officialdom, the proper role of the military as an instrument of policy occasioned ambivalence. Throughout most of the 19th century, and certainly during its final half, the Office of Indian Affairs and the War Department contended both with vigor and with vehemence for dominance in administering Federal Indian Policy. Each department, not surprisingly, stressed its own superior capabilities and insisted that the other was inadequate. The attitude of N. G. Taylor,

While commissioners steadfastly asserted the need for military authority to subordinate itself to civil officers, most also were more than prepared to call upon military forces to enforce policy decisions and to punish Indian violators. Thus, Mix (1858) deemed it "essential to the success of the system that there should be a sufficient military force in the vicinity of the reservations to prevent the intrusion of improper persons upon them, to afford protection to the agents, and to aid in controlling the Indians and keeping them within the limits assigned to them."⁹⁰ In like manner, ready resort armed might was implicit in Dole's (1862) warning concerning the Sioux of Dakota Territory; "... not a moment should be lost in making preparation to prevent and, if need be, resist and punish any hostile demonstration they might make."⁹¹ "Like the southern rebels," Dole concluded, "these savage secessionists



Shoshone Indians at Fort Washakie, 1892.

expressed in November, 1868, is representative of civil authority's side of the argument.

Soldiers are educated and trained in the science of war and in the arts of arms. Civilians are taught in the sciences and arts of peaceful civilization. In lifting up races from the degradation of savage barbarism and leading them into the sunlight of a higher life, in unveiling to their benighted vision the benefits of civilization and the blessings of a peaceful Christianity, I cannot for the life of me perceive the propriety or the efficacy of employing the military instead of the civil departments, unless it is intended to adopt the Mohammedan motto, and proclaim to these people "Death or the Koran."⁸⁹

tolerate no opposition in their unfriendly attitude toward the whites."⁹²

As Indian-White relations deteriorated during the 1870s, the purpose for which military force was to be employed was stated in increasingly punitive terms. For Walker (1872), it would be an occasion for personal rejoicing "when, in fact, the last hostile tribe becomes reduced to the condition of suppliants for charity."⁹³ In similar fashion, at the end of the decade Hayt (1879) observed that "It is impossible to properly govern a barbarous people like our wilder Indians without being able to inflict some

punishment to the offender."⁹⁴ He went on to note that, in his opinion, "to suppress insurrections, and to chastise, by the penalties and losses of war, those who rebel against the government . . . are temporary evils to the Indians, and unless the punishment inflicted is unusually severe the lesson is soon forgotten."⁹⁵

Perhaps the most comprehensive misperception which pervades the material here presented can most easily be described in Burkean terms. The 18th century English political practitioner and philosopher suggested that, before a habit or custom (prejudice, Burke called it) was rejected, some attempt ought to be made to determine why it evolved in the first place, i.e., what function did it serve? Implicit in this suggestion is the notion that neither age nor mere variation from the viewer's norm validates a conclusion of uselessness or inferiority.

Unexamined assumptions of cultural and racial superiority mitigate against an effective implementation of Burke's approach. Clearly, the depth and breadth of the conviction of white superiority was a fundamental contributor to the pervasive possibility of conflict in Indian-White relations during the 19th century. As noted above, where cultural differences were recognized, Indian inferiority was more frequently presumed than demonstrated. Even those who were, by the standards of the

times, sensitive to Indian needs virtually never saw Indian values and practices which they opposed as something for which finding a suitable surrogate was a prerequisite for change without conflict. Instead, a continuing demand, both simple and simplistic, dominated white policy—things Indian *had* to be eliminated and replaced by things white. Three of the most important subjects in regard to which this problem arose were Indian concepts of land ownership and use, Indian religion and Indian concepts of honor, prestige and glory associated with warfare. In all three areas, the dismantling, destruction and disappearance of Indian procedures and values was demanded, together with implantation of Anglo-European practices and ideas. The operational assumption seems to have been "What works for us will work for them if only they will accept our vision instead of their own."

So far as the type of misperception in which fundamental differences are nonetheless perceived in terms of equivalence, two examples stand out: (1) basic conceptions, as well as the operation, of socio-political authority, and (2) the role of combat and the function of war. In regard to the first, it seems never to have penetrated the white policy-making process that command authority in the Hobbesian sense simply did not exist in Indian society. Unable to comprehend and thus to confront this monumental



This group gathered at Fort Laramie in 1868. Included are: W. G. Bullock, Man-Afraid-of-his-Horses, standing center. On the right Red Bear shakes hands with James Bordeaux.



Another meeting of Indians and Whites at Fort Laramie.

cultural gap, white policy-makers, regardless of periodic programmatic variations, uniformly assumed the probability of a response pattern that was, in fact, impossible!

In like manner, the tribes almost never fought a war in the sense comprehended on the basis of Anglo-European historical experience. Large-scale, collective combat aimed at the achievement of purposes defined by group policy was almost totally alien to a warrior's way of thinking. Indian warfare was far more closely related to devastating individual competition than it was, for example, to Grant's victory in "The Wilderness." Since individual combat was undertaken for individual prestige and gain, certainly "peace" did not mean the absence of all combat. Once again, however, assuming the exclusive legitimacy of white definitions, no substitute for combat was ever contemplated. Eliminating intertribal warfare (as well as attacks on whites) was seen by official authority as conferring upon the tribes the benefits of "peace." To the tribesmen, however, attempts to ban combat, horse stealing and related activities meant the abrogation of the very notion of honor, prestige and glory. White policy makers could hardly have dealt with the problem of possible substitutes because they were culturally incapable of perceiving the problem.

The historical study of public policy can all too easily result in little more than an assertion of contemporary superiority based on the indisputable efficacy of hindsight. It may also become an intellectual straitjacket if it is too readily assumed that the past provides relatively clear cut

solutions for contemporary problems. Unfortunately, history rarely repeats itself with a precision sufficient for such an accomplishment. What the study of past policy problems can provide, however, is an instrument for sharpening the contemporary capacity for asking the right questions. It is hoped that this paper is such an instrument.

All page citations noted below refer to the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs as reproduced in Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, Volume I (New York: Random House, 1973).

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John Benjamin Kendrick

WYOMING'S SENATOR JOHN BENJAMIN KENDRICK:

**The Politics of Oil, Public Land and National Park
Legislation in the 1920s**

by Eugene T. Carroll

Wyoming's Senator John B. Kendrick's congressional career spanned almost three terms from 1917 to 1933. During that time Congress passed far-reaching legislation in the areas of land, forest, mineral and water use, to all of which Kendrick devoted his total energy and time. A true-to-life Horatio Alger figure, he rose from a cowboy cattle herder from Texas after the Civil War to a prominent and respected rancher, banker and businessman from Sheridan County in the northern part of the Cowboy state. At age 53, Kendrick entered state politics as a legislator in 1910, was elected governor in 1914 and United States senator in 1916.¹

Senator-elect Kendrick's credentials were presented to Congress in January, 1917, even though he was still officially governor of Wyoming until late February. He joined a group of Westerners who were distinguishing themselves on a variety of domestic and foreign issues. The group included Senators William C. Borah of Idaho, Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, George W. Norris of Nebraska and Key Pittman of Nevada. Kendrick was assigned to committees on Agriculture and Forestry, Conservation of National Resources, Indian Affairs and Public Lands and Surveys.²

As Kendrick began his term, the nation was heading for war with Germany and her allies. With a Congressional Declaration of War in April, 1917, the government immediately began a campaign to conserve the nation's natural resources although this was not altogether a unique action for American leaders. From William Penn to Theodore Roosevelt, they had urged the wise use of all natural resources. The 19th century, in addition, had produced two schools of conservation philosophy; one, the "aesthetic" believed that wilderness areas should be set aside by the government where citizens could come and enjoy the beauties of nature. Leaders in this school included George Catlin, Henry Thoreau and John Muir. On the other hand, John Wesley Powell, considered to be one of the most powerful voices in "utilitarian" conservation, and Gifford Pinchot, a close friend of President Roosevelt, believed that natural resources could be altered and controlled for the benefit of mankind. The first major surge in this whole movement came in the Roosevelt administrations (1901-1909). It was he who set aside most of the national forests, reserved river valleys as dam sites and followed, generally, a course of caution and concern toward the non-renewable resources of the West.³

The most important national conservation issue at the time of Kendrick's election was the formulation of a reasonable oil leasing policy which would please the President, western senators, independent oil operators and homesteaders who had found oil. The climax of Congressional debate came in February, 1920, when the General Leasing Act was finally passed. One of its main provisions offered by Senator Reed Smoot of Utah regulated leasing of government oil land, a provision bitterly attacked by some western senators who wanted all government land open for development . . . without any regulations. The

Pickett Act of 1910 had given the President constitutional authority to withdraw lands as he saw fit.⁴

From 1914 through February, 1920, Congress constantly debated different types of oil legislation. Kendrick, in remarks prepared for Senate delivery on December 17, 1917, charged the government with lacking a definite policy in withdrawal of lands. He pointed out that as of July 31 of that year, the government had withdrawn 56,715,014 acres of mineral lands in the Western states and barred them from entry.⁵ His remarks were offered in support of a bill by Senator Walsh similar to one offered by Congressman Scott Ferris in 1914. Both bills gave authority to the Secretary of the Interior to grant exclusive rights to prospectors on not more than 640 acres located within ten miles of any producing well and/or not more than 2,560 acres located farther than ten miles from a producing well. The permittee was required to begin work within four months, drill at least 500 feet and then, within two years, drill wells 2,000 feet in depth. The Ferris and Walsh bill perished either in committee or in the House or Senate.⁶

Kendrick's Wyoming constituents and friends were divided on the proposed oil legislation. William S. Metz, a political associate, urged Kendrick to support the Walsh bill because he felt that the government's withdrawal order was only a temporary one. Max Ball of Cheyenne and Leslie A. Miller (later Governor Miller) argued that the Interior Secretary should not be able to say who was or who was not able to buy leases. T. W. LaFleisch of Sheridan and W. L. Larson of Lovell wondered if a bill could be passed to lease out oil lands to individuals or groups to at least start some development of the fields. Kendrick replied that the Walsh bill might become a temporary measure rather than a comprehensive law.⁷

With the war ending and the election of Warren G. Harding, the controversy over oil legislation finally drew to a conclusion. To W. H. Harris of the *Wyoming Oil World* in Casper, Kendrick wrote that he thought the leasing bill was on "dead center;" to Robert R. Rose, also an oilman and Casper lawyer, Kendrick wrote that he had offered an amendment to assist the man who might lose his lease under the new law. The amendment failed, though.⁸

By early 1921 President Harding was making cabinet appointments which would portend a national scandal. Albert H. Fall, a former New Mexican senator, was appointed Interior Secretary, while Harry Daugherty was given the post of Attorney-General. Both were close political cronies of Harding and closely allied to the big business interests that dominated the Republican Party. Early in April, 1922, Kendrick began hearing from Wyoming politicians and constituents about rumors concerning the leasing of the Teapot Dome reserves north of Casper. Former Governor B. B. Brooks had heard that Secretary Fall had been granted permission by the President to transfer the reserve from Navy to Interior, and then lease it to the Mammoth Oil Company. Neither the Congress nor the public knew of these secret actions.⁹



A portion of the Teapot Dome Oil Fields leased by Secretary of the Interior, Albert H. Fall,⁹ which caused a national scandal.

Kendrick moved swiftly to the news of the rumored lease. On April 15, he introduced a resolution requesting Fall and Navy Secretary Edwin Denby to inform the Senate about any negotiations with private parties about the leasing of Teapot Dome. He contended that if private leasing was going to become a common legal practice, all operators should have a chance to bid competitively. His resolution was approved.¹⁰

Senator Robert M. LaFollette followed Kendrick's resolution by calling upon Fall to forward copies of the lease and all other papers relating to the naval reserve in California as well as Teapot Dome. Fall ignored the request, writing instead to the President stating his justification for the lease. On April 28, LaFollette took to the floor to call attention to the fact that Kendrick had taken the initiative in the leasing matter, focusing the attention of the American public on possible malfeasance in government.¹¹

In the fall of 1923, the investigation was started by the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys. Smoot of Utah was chairman with Senators Lenroot of Wisconsin, Norris, Pittman, Walsh and Kendrick as some of the additional members. However, the work of uncovering the corruption would rest principally with Walsh. Strangely enough, Kendrick was not even present. In an unusual exchange of messages before the hearings started in October, Walsh urged Kendrick to return from his Sheridan home in time for the hearings. Kendrick replied that he did not believe his presence would be at all necessary. Walsh, in a telegram, again urged his return, indicating that Kendrick's absence might be construed, by his constituents, as lack of interest in the investigation. Kendrick ended speculation about his plans with a telegram to Smoot two days before the hearings started, stating that floods prevented his return to Washington.¹²

Kendrick's primary reasons for not attending the opening sessions of the Senate hearings are not revealed in his correspondence to private friends. He may actually have felt that he had gone far enough in revealing the scandal and would now allow his lawyer-colleagues to take the limelight. On the other hand, his family correspondence reveals a constant concern about the seasonal side of ranching and the floods may have been a genuine excuse.

In many ways, Kendrick was more involved with land policy than with oil legislation. Congressional debate on land use had been going on since the founding of the nation, notably between eastern and western congressmen. The problems that the westerners brought to the Senate floor had already been solved in the states represented by easterners. In many ways, those problems were uniquely western because the land was primarily arid or semi-arid. While the 1920 Leasing Law may have solved the problems with oil, other laws had to be enacted to resolve the problems of entrymen who had leased land under the various Homestead Acts.¹³

Just a few months before Kendrick took his Senate seat, President Wilson had signed the Stock-Raising Act of 1916. This Act permitted entry on 640 acres of non-irrigable land for stock-raising with a stipulation that entry could not be made until the Geological Survey had declared the land eligible for settlement. Many settlers who did not know of this stipulation had already sold their eastern homes and started west.¹⁴

Kendrick was well aware of the failures of the land laws which were enacted to promote settlement. He pressured colleagues on the Senate floor and the Committee on Public Lands to pass laws encouraging settlers to develop the land. For example, in an amendment to the Stock-Raising Act of 1916, he sought to provide leaves of absence from



Two views of Salt Creek. (Above) Street scene. (Below) Gas plant. Most of the Salt Creek area was public domain, owned by the federal government. As a result of the 1916 Stock-Raising Act, homesteaders could claim surface rights to 640 acres of land. The 1920 Leasing Act, however, allowed the federal government to lease the oil rich land to oil companies. Naturally, conflict arose between homesteaders and oil companies, occasionally leading to violence. One person who filed in 1920 was Armin H. Ziehlsdorff, but the Interior Department canceled his lease that same year. Ziehlsdorff asked Kendrick for help and through Kendrick's persistence a relief bill allowing "Salt Creek homesteaders to exercise rights on any public land in Wyoming became law June 30, 1930."



homestead claims for servicemen who wanted to take advantage of rehabilitative training. The Act of 1916 provided that time spent in the service would count as partial residence on the homestead entry. The problem, however, was that after a wounded man was discharged, he was no longer considered a serviceman. He then stood in danger of losing his homestead by default on the residence requirements. The Kendrick amendment would still require that no settler could receive a patent unless he lived on the property for one year, cultivated and improved it. The amendment became law on September 23, 1919.¹⁵

For Kendrick in the 1920s, much of the controversy on public land settlement centered around the efforts of a group of ex-servicemen to lease, improve and hold on to land in the Salt Creek oil field north of Casper. Despite the Supreme Court ruling of 1915 that the President had the right to withdraw land, the Midwest Refinery Company had entered the withdrawn land and proceeded with so-called "assessment work," as well as some actual drilling operations. Lands that were unlawfully entered and seized by the company were patrolled and guarded by "lease riders," the majority of whom were on Midwest's payroll. By 1920, Midwest practically controlled the entire Salt Creek oil field.¹⁶

The ex-servicemen had leased their land under the Stock-Raising Act of 1916, giving each man surface rights to 640 acres of non-irrigable, non-forested grazing land. However, the 1920 Leasing Act gave the government the power to grant leases on lands that had been improved on by the entryman. Midwest oil land and the potential Salt Creek field were contiguous to each other.

Armin H. Ziehlsdorff, an ex-serviceman, filed his homestead application on May 17, 1920. The application, as did all others, reserved the mineral rights to the government. His lease, however, was canceled by the Interior Department on November 12, 1920, because it was in conflict with oil company applications for oil and gas leases and permits. Ziehlsdorff filed an appeal on January 22, 1921, with the Interior Department, stating that he had fulfilled all the requirements of the Act of 1916. The Department then asked the oil claimants to show how much of Ziehlsdorff's claim they would need; when they requested all the land, his lease was canceled.¹⁷

By 1923, Midwest had bought much of the land belonging to Ziehlsdorff's neighbors. Apparently, though, Secretary of the Interior Work, who had replaced Albert Fall, would not withhold cancellations on other leases if a settlement could be worked out. Ziehlsdorff, however, felt that with the erratic government policy of leasing, it would be better for Congress to investigate the Salt Creek field both in the matter of granting oil leases and the cancellation of homestead entries. Ziehlsdorff urged Kendrick to introduce a bill for direct relief from the government, or, to ask the Interior Department to force oil companies to institute settlements.¹⁸

In 1925, Ziehlsdorff again asked Kendrick to help two

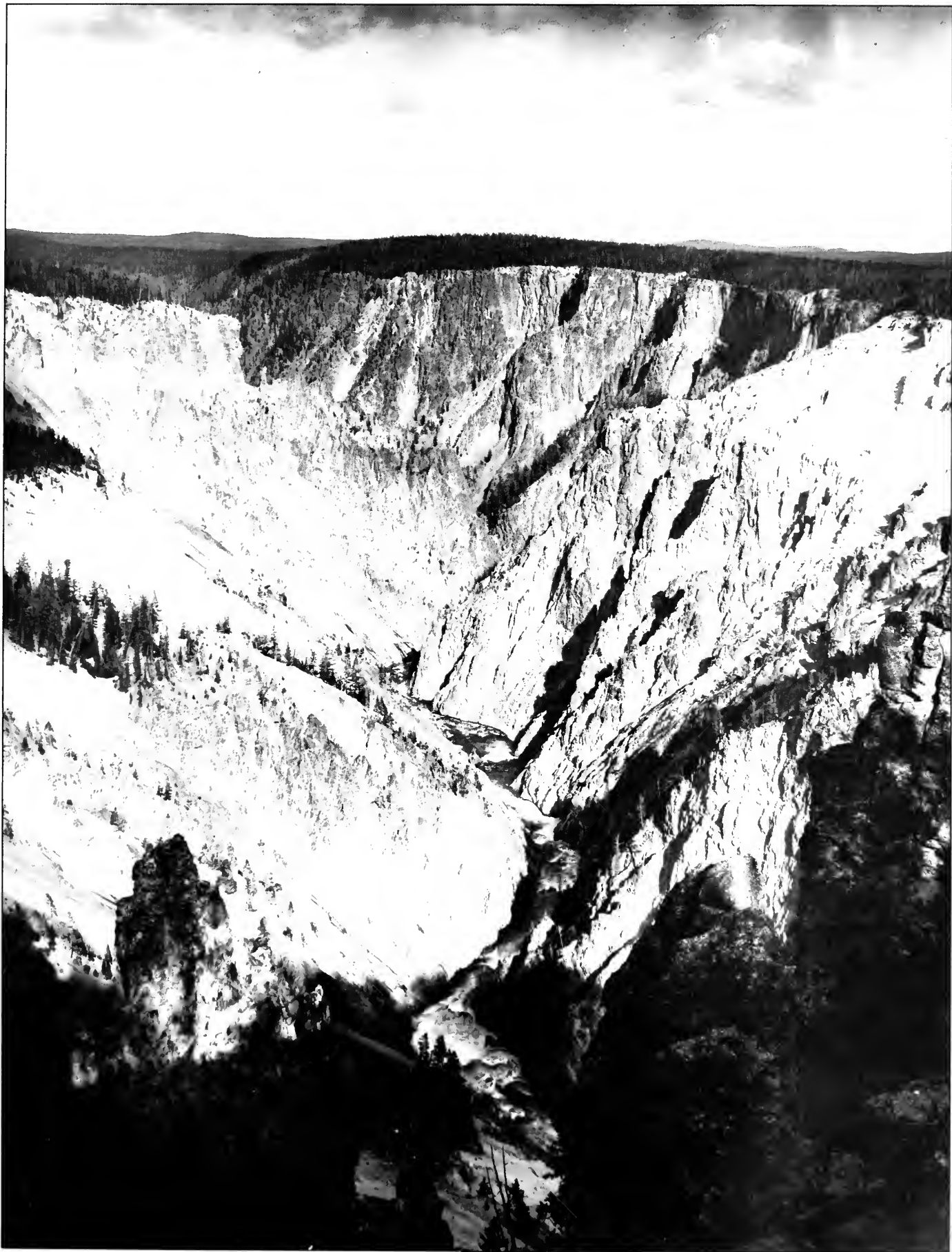
other men and him on the lease problem with Midwest. Kendrick could do nothing at this point. By 1927 Ziehlsdorff charged that the companies had not attempted to drill on the land since 1920. In desperation, he wrote: "When will the government help the entrymen?" Kendrick, after conferring with Interior officials, found that Ziehlsdorff might be able to refile his lease but not receive a cash compensation. Kendrick introduced his first relief bill for the homesteaders in February, 1928. The Interior Department, however, was opposed to the bill and it died in committee. The Wyoming Democrat persisted and reintroduced the bill in 1930, and with the main provision, the right of Salt Creek homesteaders to exercise rights on any public land in Wyoming, the bill became law on June 30, 1930.¹⁹

Ziehlsdorff's letters to Kendrick, through the 1920s, are interesting in two areas: (1) the persistence of homesteaders to struggle against the federal bureaucracy to keep their land under the Stock-Raising Act of 1916 despite the apparent conflict of that Act with the Leasing Act of 1920; (2) the other area may be more implied than explicit. Ziehlsdorff and other settlers may wished to have acquired oil rights to the land for themselves in a collective way, or, they may have been holding out for large settlements from the oil companies.

Another controversial area for the public lands in the West was the urgent need to expand the boundaries of all national parks, including Yellowstone. With the addition of cars in the 1920s, improved highways and thousands of tourists, the need for expansion was imperative. Kendrick found that his constituents were both for and against the expansion of Yellowstone. P. J. O'Connor of Casper, president of the Finance Corporation of Wyoming, argued that while the extension was needed, the government should not take taxable property out of the state. J. J. Jewett, manager of the Riverton Lumber Company, was also in favor of the extension but was opposed to the inclusion of Jackson Lake and the Tetons in the enlargement. P. J. Quealy, president of the Kemmerer Coal Company, agreed that the Park should be extended, but hoped that Senators Kendrick and Warren would support the livestock interests over the transportation interests.²⁰

Extensions for other park boundaries had become such a hot issue in government agencies that the President's Conference on Recreation finally appointed a five-man committee called the Coordinating Committee on National Parks and National Forests to survey and make recommendations. When this intensive survey was finished in 1927, the committee recommended that Yellowstone Park should be expanded to its natural boundaries in the east and west, adding approximately 300,000 acres. A bill, embodying those recommendations, was passed by Congress and signed by President Hoover on March 1, 1929.²¹

Another recommendation from the Committee urged the creation of Grand Teton Park. Horace Albright, who became National Parks Director after the retirement of Stephen Mather, had always strongly believed that the



In 1929, the federal government added 300,000 acres of land to Yellowstone National Park.

Grand Tetons should be a separate park. Through Mather's administration, the idea of the park was opposed by the Forest Service, hunters and the livestock interests. Senator Norbeck of North Dakota, in January, 1928, introduced a bill to establish the "Kendrick National Park," but it was not reported.²²

In the following year Kendrick introduced a bill to create Grand Teton National Park; he was anxious to limit the area which was already a national forest. In debate the Wyoming Democrat indicated that while his state had wanted to use the Teton area as a state park, the Tetons should really be a national monument. One provision of the bill provided no highway or concession grants without the consent of Congress; another provision would limit the park to uncultivable lands. The bill passed both houses without much opposition.²³

In addition to his strong belief that the Grand Tetons should be a national park, Albright wanted to include Jackson Hole in Grand Teton National Park. He was one of many who believed the same way. As early as 1898, the Senate directed the Secretary of the Interior to report on the area, south of Yellowstone, to determine whether the Yellowstone Forest Reserves, now the Teton National Forest, should be added to prevent "extinction of the large game roaming therein."²⁴

Efforts were made from the beginning of the 20th century to the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt to add Jackson Hole to the national park system. In 1918, for example, Congressman Frank Mondell of Wyoming made several efforts to extend the Yellowstone southward; much of the land incorporated in his bill was in a national forest, and he found fighting the Forest Service very difficult.²⁵

Then, in 1926, John D. Rockefeller visited Jackson Hole with Albright, and decided, after seeing the potential commercialization, to buy the private lands and turn them over to the National Park Service. Rockefeller followed through on Albright's suggestion of organizing the Snake River Land Company to buy the land, and named Robert Miller, a banker from Jackson, to do the purchasing. Kendrick's only contact with Miller had been in a 1925 letter in which he confirms that the government was planning to withdraw several thousand acres of unentered land in Jackson Hole for park and game refuge purposes. He felt, as always, that the withdrawal plan should be talked over by the various interests represented in Jackson Hole.²⁶

There was very little doubt that Miller paid more than fair prices for private lands. The laws of Wyoming required that land should be assessed for true value, and for land which the state had assessed for \$521,037, the land company had paid almost a million and a half dollars. The purchase program was about complete, and the Snake River Company was prepared to turn over the land to the National Park Service to be added to Grand Teton National Park.²⁷

However, charges of scandalous practices by the Rockefeller people swept through Congress. Kendrick and

Senator Robert Carey, also of Wyoming, submitted a resolution on June 10, 1932, asking that the Committee on Public Lands and Surveys be directed to investigate the National Park Service and the Snake River Land Company. The two senators were disturbed particularly with the Park Service over allegedly "discouraging homestead entries in that area and in harassing residents and settlers on public lands."²⁸

In December, 1932, Kendrick wrote to Secretary of the Interior Ray Lyman Wilbur that he was opposed to any further extension of the Yellowstone and Grand Teton Parks. In the same month, Carey wrote to Arthur Woods, who was a spokesman for Rockefeller, that in his opinion, the Park Service had been uncooperative in refusing to assist the investigation. He added that the committee had never questioned Rockefeller's motives in purchasing the land, but he felt sure that Albright misled Rockefeller as to the value of the land he purchased.²⁹

Even after Kendrick's death in 1933, the investigation on Jackson Hole continued; in fact, there was an almost uninterrupted investigation until 1943 when President Roosevelt established Jackson Hole National Monument. The controversy continued, though, until 1950, when through the efforts of Senators Joseph O'Mahoney and Lester Hunt, both of Wyoming, all but 9,000 acres of the monument were incorporated into the park.³⁰

Kendrick's energy and time during his congressional career were spent in sponsoring and voting for vital Western legislation. Oil, public lands and national park expansion were three typical issues of the day, and Kendrick, like other Western senators, believed strongly in congressional actions that would greatly benefit his state as well as the entire West. His successors, Senators O'Mahoney and Gale McGee, pursued Kendrick's interests with the same great vigor and responsibility.³¹

1. This article is taken from the author's Master's thesis from the University of Wyoming in 1977 on the congressional career of Senator Kendrick. The emphasis in the thesis was centered around the efforts of the Wyoming Democrat to secure legislation in the areas of water and land reclamation, national parks and grazing and forest conservation. (See the author's article on Kendrick's early life in the Spring, 1982, issue of the *Annals of Wyoming*, titled "John Benjamin Kendrick: From Texas Cowpoke to Wyoming Senator, 1879-1917.")

2. *Congressional Record*, LIV, p. 938, January 8, 1917; LV, p. 50, March 12, 1917; p. 3790, June 18, 1917.

3. The materials for this paragraph were taken from Roderick Nash, "The American Conservation Movement," *Forums in History* (St. Charles, Missouri: Forum Press, 1974).

4. John Ise, *The United States Oil Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), pp. 313, 343; U.S. Vs. Midwest Oil Company, et al., 59 Law Ed., 236 U.S. 673 (1915).

5. *Congressional Record*, LIV, pp. 388-391, December 17, 1917.

6. Ise, *Oil Policy*, pp. 332-339.

7. W. S. Metz to JBK, July 18, 1917; Max Ball to JBK, January 1, 1917, Box 21; July 25, 1917; Leslie A. Miller to JBK, August 3, 1917; T. W. LaFleish to JBK, June 19, 1917; W. L. Larson to JBK, June 20, 1917; JBK to TWLaF and WLL, June 26, 1917, Box 22, John Benjamin Kendrick Collection, American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming. Hereafter cited as the "JBK Coll."
8. JBK to W. H. Harris, January 24, 1920; JBK to Robert R. Rose, January 17, 1920, Box 30, JBK Coll.
9. J. Leonard Bates, *The Origins of Teapot Dome: Progressives, Parties and Petroleum, 1909-1921* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), p. 212; Ise, *Oil Policy*, pp. 332-339.
10. *Congressional Record*, LXVII, pp. 5567-5568, April 15, 1922.
11. *Congressional Record*, LXII, p. 5792, April 21, 1922; Ise, p. 358; *Congressional Record*, LXII, pp. 6047-6049, April 28, 1922.
12. Ise, *Oil Policy*, p. 359; Thomas J. Walsh to JBK, September 21, 1923; JBK to TJW, October 1, 1923; TJW to JBK, October 6, 1923; JBK to Reed Smoot, October 13, 1923, Box 39, JBK Coll.
13. Bates, p. 198.
14. *Congressional Record*, LV, pp. 7547-7550, October 1, 1917.
15. See Benjamin H. Hubbard's classic study in land laws, *A History of Public Land Policies* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1924); *Congressional Record*, LVIII, p. 58, May 20, 1919.
16. Armin H. Ziehlsdorff to JBK, February 21, 1924; Memorandum from Salt Creek Unit, Wyoming Homesteader's Protective Association to JBK, February 21, 1924, Box 39, JBK Coll.
17. Wyoming Homesteaders' Protective Association to JBK, February 21, 1924, Box 39, JBK Coll.
18. AHZ to JBK, December 5, 27, 1923, Box 30, JBK Coll.
19. AHZ to JBK, February 20, 1925; JBK to AHZ, February 25, 1925; AHZ to JBK, April 19, 1927; JBK to AHZ, May 17, 1927, Boxes 41, 46, JBK Coll.; *Congressional Record*, LXIX, p. 3742, February 29, 1928; LXXII, p. 6349, April 2, 1930.
20. P. J. O'Connor to JBK, January 2, 1923, Box 38; J. J. Jewett to JBK, January 8, 1923; P. J. Quealy to JBK, January 8, 1923, Box 38, JBK Coll.
21. John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), pp. 275-276.
22. *Congressional Record*, LIX, p. 1473, January 14, 1928.
23. *Congressional Record*, LXX, pp. 2982-2983, February 7, 1929.
24. Ise, *National Park Policy*, p. 490.
25. *Ibid*, p. 491.
26. JBK to Robert Miller, February 12, 1925, Box 40, JBK Coll.
27. Ise, *National Park Policy*, p. 494.
28. *Congressional Record*, LXX, p. 12512, June 10, 1932.
29. JBK to Ray Lyman Wilbur, December 14, 1932; Robert Carey to Arthur Wood, December 31, 1932, Box 54, JBK Coll.
30. Ise, *National Park Policy*, pp. 495-506.
31. A fourth national issue for Kendrick was the use of water in the West, especially in relation to the North Platte and Colorado Rivers. (See the author's comprehensive article on Kendrick's efforts to secure water legislation in Congress in the 1920s and the early 1930s in the Fall, 1978, issue of the *Annals of Wyoming*, titled "John B. Kendrick's Fight for Western Water Legislation, 1917-1933," pp. 319-333.)



Early view of Utah Agricultural College with Administration Building (Old Main) in center.

EDUCATION FOR HEAD OR HAND?

Land Grant Universities of Utah and Wyoming

by D. Teddy Diggs



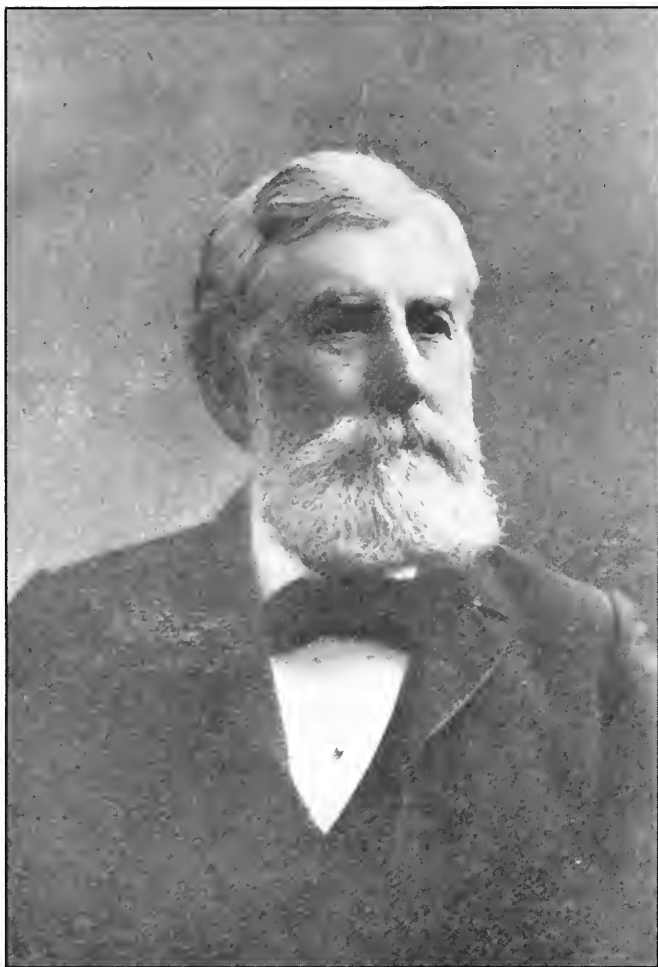
UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION

In a recent annual meeting, the Utah State University National Advisory Council stressed to university administrators the urgent need for more "liberal" education. Today's graduates, the Council explained, are well provided with the technical tools for successful work in the world yet lack knowledge of the purpose of their tools and work, lack knowledge of the values of human life. As one member concluded, "The very heart of our way of life is at stake in the wedding of the sciences and humanities."¹

This wedding proposal is by no means new or unique, either in the national scene or in the local context of western states such as Utah and Wyoming. Indeed, nearly 100 years ago the first Board of Trustees of Utah State University (then known as the Utah Agricultural College) announced their planned education policy, one which "blended education of the head and hand."² Similarly, administrators at the University of Wyoming designed a founding policy which would introduce technical training, while not forgetting classical ideas. The first presidents at both institutions searched for a feasible combination of the two types of education. Yet even if the presidents were to find a working combination, the final key could be provided only by the local communities. For without the support of the community—parents to send children, citizen leaders to back proposals—neither president could hope to keep his job, much less introduce a new educational theory.

And at the time Utah and Wyoming were founding their agricultural colleges in the early 1880s, the idea of joining head and hand, humanities and sciences, *was* very much in its formative stages. Throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries, classical ideas dominated training, while educators strove for character-shaping, humanitarian goals. Gradually the more progressive thinkers of the age began to espouse the idea of a practical purpose to education—education for the hand and sciences. Practicality—here defined as agricultural, industrial or utilitarian training—continued to gain support in the mid-1800s, crystallizing in the 1862 Morrill Land Grant Bill. With this act, the federal government financially supported the states' foundings of new institutions whose "leading objects shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life."³

By 1890, the year the Utah Agricultural College opened its doors, this new utilitarian idea was established throughout the East. The Territory of Utah simply followed along. The Lund Act establishing the Utah college stated the school's purpose nearly verbatim to the mandate as proposed by the Morrill Law.⁴ Yet even so, the Utah law left much leeway for further expansion; the school still needed a firm, tactical policy for its operation. As it turned out, this was provided by Jeremiah Wilson Sanborn, first president of the agricultural college. After the school's open-



UNIVERSITY OF UTAH LIBRARY. SPECIAL COLLECTIONS.

Jeremiah W. Sanborn, first president of Utah Agricultural College, Logan.

ing, and during the early years, its educational philosophy would be influenced and altered by other factors, including the college community. In its initial conception, however, the college relied upon the first president and the first Board of Trustees for its policies and promotion.

This first Board of Trustees took a natural interest in the Territory's education, comprised as it was by leaders of the area. The Lund Act provided that the Board include the Governor and the Secretary of the Territory of Utah, as well as the Assessors from the five counties of Cache, Davis, Utah, Salt Lake and Sanpete.⁵ At their first meeting in June, 1888, the members chose Governor Caleb West to be President of the Board, H. E. Hatch to be Treasurer and J. T. Caine, Jr., to be Secretary. Next, they addressed the concerns of building location, design and construction. Additionally, the Board began a search for the future director of the experiment station.⁶

The Board entrusted this last task to Secretary Caine. Caine, a long-time citizen of the West, also held ties to the East. His father was the Utah Territorial delegate to the U.S. Congress, and the junior Caine had been educated at Cornell University. Searching for an experiment station director, Caine therefore turned to his own alma mater,

writing to the director of the experiment station at Cornell. In answer to Caine's letter, Dr. I. P. Roberts suggested a Mr. Ed Tarbell and J. W. Sanborn. Caine immediately recognized Sanborn's name as a noted member of the faculty at the University of Missouri and as the author of several important agricultural papers. According to Caine, he intuitively felt Sanborn was the correct choice and, after several offers and negotiations, Sanborn agreed to come to Utah. In May, 1890, five months after Sanborn's arrival, the Board elected him President of the faculty and college.⁷

The rationale behind Caine's unwavering decision on Sanborn was simple. As he explained in a report of the Board of Trustees, this man was known internationally as one of the most progressive agricultural researchers. He was also "a gentleman of broad views and liberal culture."⁸ Caine perceived Sanborn's strength in both the classical and practical fields.

Sanborn's practical nature tended toward agriculture. He had grown up on a farm in Pittsfield, New Hampshire, and graduated from New Hampshire College.⁹ In 1882, he was appointed professor and dean to the small, floundering college of agriculture at the University of Missouri. Once there, Sanborn energetically put into effect numerous long-talked-about plans. He experimented with crop rotations, soil treatments and livestock feeding; he began a statewide farmers' institute program which lasted for 40 years. By the academic year 1885-86, three years after Sanborn's arrival, the president of the University of Missouri felt justified in retitling the university catalog the "Annual Catalog of the Agricultural College and University."¹⁰

Unfortunately, Dean Sanborn's enthusiasm for success did not stop with the college of agriculture but overlapped into his personal life. At the same time that Sanborn was drawing his salary as professor and dean, he also received salaries as the secretary of the state board of agriculture, the statistician for the experiment station and the secretary of the Kansas City Fat Stock Show. On the other hand, he denounced his own board's nepotism, proclaiming that he would pay a board member's brother only half what he would otherwise pay for some desired cattle. Not surprisingly, Sanborn soon developed enemies; his resignation was demanded in 1888. He held out a little while longer—until he left for a job in Utah.¹¹

Sanborn was a man of action, a man of practicality, a man of agriculture. And agriculture rated first and foremost. Sanborn's primary objectives as president and director were to experiment in and improve the science of agriculture, to teach the worth of the farm and to extend this knowledge to the people of the Territory.¹² Caine noted of his colleague, "To him Agriculture was far more important to the people than many of them understood; not because it was his chosen field, but because it was absolutely essential to human life."¹³

Sanborn's emphasis on the essentials of life was not at all unconventional. As noted earlier, educators throughout the country had begun to push for the "useful" univer-

sity. In 1883, F. W. Kelsey, a Latinist at the University of Michigan, advocated learning that would help "the fitting for real life in something besides discipline and culture of the mind."¹⁴ Neither was Sanborn alone in the newly founded West. David Starr Jordan, President of Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, noted: "The American University of to-day seeks neither culture nor erudition as its final end. It looks forward to work in life."¹⁵ Yet often, while stressing practical training, these educators ignored the classical ideas. Jordan never even formed a department of philosophy.¹⁶ As Calvin M. Woodward of Washington University warned, "In turning from an inherited scheme of education which faced backward . . . we must not fail to preserve the dignity and the nobility of our educational standards."¹⁷ Even those who agreed with Woodward were not sure of the solution, however. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University hoped simply that the line between an educated man and a practical man might just disappear.¹⁸

Sanborn's uniqueness lay in the fact that he did not draw this line. He did not attempt, as he noted, to replace classical education, but merely "to meet the demands of . . . modern industrial life upon which really is based the possibilities of culture."¹⁹ Agriculture did deserve top priority, yet so too did the development of the mind. San-

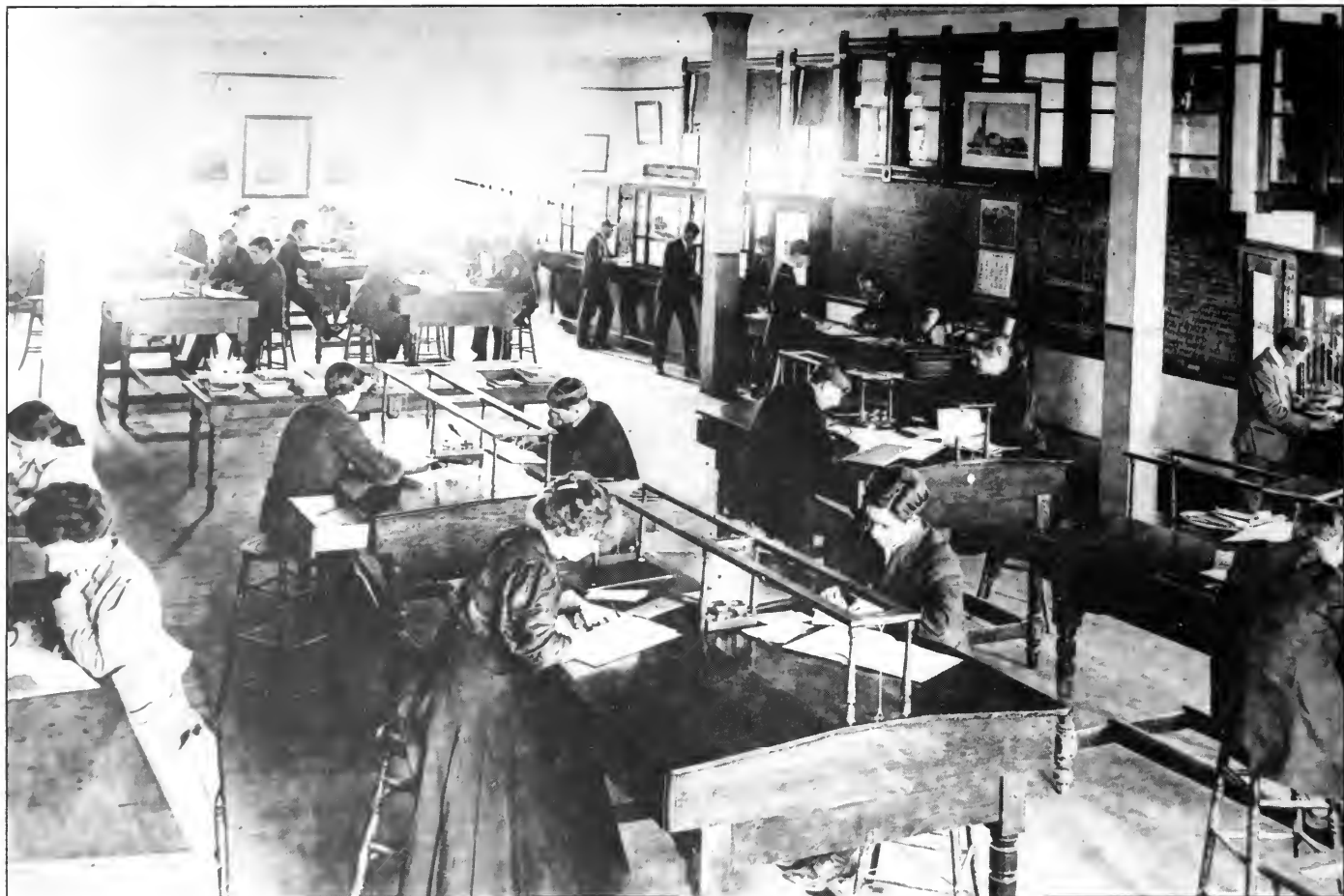
born wrote: "The educational policy of the institution never overlooks the fact that man is of supreme moment. It does not rush to the extreme views of those who would educate man alone as a mere working machine. Man's supremest pleasure must come from mental culture. . . ."²⁰ The college's president did not attempt to balance the practical and the classical into any formal ratio, much less divide his policy on a 50-50 basis. For him, agriculture must be appropriated 100 percent importance; yet liberal ideas too deserved 100 percent attention. Simple addition notwithstanding, both were possible. The two ideas did not, as was popularly thought, repel each other. Rather, the two objectives could be met, as the two objectives were actually one. Sanborn explained the theory in an article in the *Logan, Utah, newspaper*.

A course in the Sciences that bear upon the science and art of agriculture will, as a matter of course have a prominent place in the college. Fortunately most of those sciences that are now reported as essential to a liberal and even to a cultured education are essential to a knowledge of the laws involved in farming. With this industry as with no other, a technical education means a fairly liberal education.²¹

Sanborn did not limit his educational philosophy to theory. From this basis, he chose the actual subject courses to be taught. Together with the Board of Trustees, he decided on four subjects: mechanic arts, agriculture, domestic



Utah Agricultural College, (l to r) Home of Director of Agricultural Experiment Station, model barn, President's house, Experiment station building, south wing Old Main.



UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS AND ARCHIVES.

School of Commerce at ACU. This was the first business school west of the Mississippi. This was an accounting class taken around 1902-3.

arts and civil engineering.²² Yet classical studies were not omitted. The Board stressed that the instruction in these courses be made neither wholly classical nor wholly technical, as man experienced both physical and intellectual needs. The catalog, noting that "the College authorities have not forgotten that man is before the industrialist," listed the additional courses of English composition and grammar, German and French.²³ Furthermore, the Lund Act provided for such courses as moral philosophy and history. To teach these diverse courses, Sanborn chose what he termed a "cosmopolitan" faculty.²⁴ Professors included Miss Abby L. Marlatt from Kansas Agricultural College and J. M. Sholl of Purdue. Sanborn handpicked six other professors, making a total of nine on the first faculty roster.²⁵ All were from states other than Utah. The only locals connected with the college were Caine, of the Board of Trustees, and Willard S. Langton, an instructor in the preparatory department.

This "outside" faculty was in itself a significant factor in the college's founding. With only two Utahns in the administration, would the Logan, Utah, community readily accept the new institution? For as Caine had perceptively noted when he chose Sanborn, "proper support from the

people and the Territory" was a necessity for a successful college.²⁶

Whether or not the community supported the administration is difficult to determine. It appears, however, that there was no direct opposition. As for the community's endorsement of the new educational institution in general, it seemed that in this respect Sanborn would be fortunate. The people comprising the Logan community and the Territory of Utah were mostly (71.9% statewide in 1890) natives and immigrants of the Mormon faith—a religion, it is popularly thought today, which has long promoted educational training. Among the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith's many well-known revelations are: "The glory of God is intelligence," and "A man cannot be saved in ignorance."²⁷ Studies ranking states of the nation according to educational achievement consistently place Utah in the uppermost standings. In 1925, William C. Bagley placed Utah second, claiming that the "Mormon Church from the time of the great 'trek' laid a heavy emphasis upon education."²⁸

Other treatises followed. In May, 1943, E. L. Thorndike published his article, "The Origin of Superior Men" in *Scientific Monthly*. After analyzing the 1938 editions of

American Men of Science and *Who's Who*, as well as the 1932 printing of *Leaders in Education*, Thorndike concluded that Utah led the nation in both men of achievement and men of science.²⁹ Three years later Raymond M. Hughes and William H. Lancelot published *Education—America's Magic* which placed Utah first in "all-around performance," as well as first in educational accomplishment, accomplishment commensurate with ability, efficiency of effort and the education of adults. Lancelot, as Bagley earlier had done, attributed Utah's success to the people and their values, noting, "This [first ranking] appears to be due almost wholly to the high value placed on education by the people of Utah. . . ."³⁰

Continuing the trend, in 1952 Robert Knapp and Hubert Goodrich, in their *Origins of American Scientists*, listed the top 50 institutions in the production of scientists. Utah State Agricultural College ranked #25, while Brigham Young University finished as #32 in the nation.³¹ A. W. Astin, in his 1962 article, "Productivity of Undergraduate

Institutions," stated that Brigham Young University, the University of Utah and Utah State University were all "highly overproductive." While Astin acknowledges that it would be difficult to determine the reason, he also questions whether "certain ethnic or religious characteristics of the students entering these institutions may be important factors in the colleges' productivity."³² Finally, nearly ten years ago Kenneth Hardy concluded in "Social Origins of American Scientists and Scholars" that Utah was "first in productivity for all fields combined in all time periods." Yet Hardy, a Brigham Young University psychology professor, did not merely suggest a Utah-quality education causation, but directly drew the line between the two, noting that the Utah achievement "seems clearly to be due to the influence of Mormon values, because Mormon youth predominate in the colleges of the state, and because other variables, such as climate, geography, natural resources, and social class, do not appear to explain the exceptional record of this state."³³



ACU Library on a crowded day taken circa 1902.

It would be erroneous, however, to take these studies as a whole, lump them together with the Mormon prophets' quotations on an ambiguously defined "knowledge" and conclude that the Mormon religion has long supported education.³⁴ As Frederick S. Buchanan concludes in an article studying this Mormon-education correlation, other factors *do* need to be considered—factors such as those lightly disqualified by Hardy. Buchanan lists influences such as Protestant beliefs, professional educators, Utah immigrants and the Western environment.³⁵ Furthermore, while the conclusions of Utah predominance may indeed be valid—in the mid-20th century—they cannot be simply stretched back to include the late 19th, early 20th centuries time frame. The two periods do not quite compare in terms of education. The 1925 Bagley study cited earlier acknowledges this difference in time, noting that Utah showed the "most marked inconsistency between its apparent school conditions thirty and forty years ago [the 1880s and 1890s] and its present high station."³⁶

The less-than-satisfactory educational atmosphere of the turn of the century decade appeared evident in the Logan area. One 1902 visitor to the Cache Valley, Ray Stanard Baker, noted his presupposition that the Mormons would be isolated from the rest of the world by their religion, mountains and deserts—a people "unto themselves, ignorant, superstitious." Comparing Mormons to people of Eastern farming communities, Baker admitted that the Utahns possessed as much knowledge of the outside world as the Easterners yet were "not great readers . . . and not intellectual for the most part."³⁷ Another representative of this line of thinking, Bernard De Voto, wrote in even harsher terms of Utah in 1926:

No poets lingered there, no musicians, philosophers, or scholars. . . . Civilized life does not exist in Utah. It never has existed there. It never will exist there. Those who have no interest in social or intellectual or artistic life may live there as well as anywhere else.³⁸

In attempting to explain this Utah intellectual ambiguity, one fact concerning the early Mormon philosophy of education should be kept in mind. As Brigham Young explained in 1869, "Our work, our everyday labor, our whole lives are within the scope of our religion."³⁹ Applied to the classical/practical division in education, this meant that the classical aspect—value and character shaping; inspirational, moral and artistic guidance—remained unofficially in the realm of the church, while the practical, everyday work was handled by "education." Addressing the subject of education, Young encouraged the introduction of "every kind of useful studies" into the schools. He explained further, "I would like very much to urge upon our young people . . . to pay more attention to arithmetic and other things that are useful, instead of acquiring a little French and German and other fanciful studies that are not of so much practical importance."⁴⁰

Added to this prophet emphasis on practicality was a second, environmental impetus. During the latter years

of the 19th century, the Mormon religion became exposed to Eastern ideas—and Eastern threats. The coming of the railroad to Utah in 1869 brought Eastern enterprisers and exploiters, as well as Protestant and evangelical denominations. In Cache Valley, long obliviously isolated within its ring of mountains, the settlers were soon exposed to this national penetration. A telephone line through Wellsville Canyon to Ogden and Salt Lake City connected in 1887. Small mining booms erupted in 1890-94 in Hyrum, Richmond and Paradise. As Cache Valley began to buy and sell more goods to other states, national variables such as war and depression affected the Cache Valley stability. Throughout the valley—and the Territory—foreign influences threatened Mormon autonomy. As a result of this decreasing church influence, combined with outside criticism of church practices such as polygamy, a renewed interest in education arose—education as indoctrination, education as preservation of the traditional Mormon way of life. Practical manual training, which would economically benefit the building of the Saints' Kingdom, was endorsed, while the potentially destructive "thinking" courses of philosophy and literature were downplayed.⁴¹

The emphasis on practicality in Utah remains in evidence today. Once again, the nationwide studies show Utah's relative educational position. Robert Knapp, who had earlier cited Brigham Young University's scientific prominence in the 1950s, later calculated the school's contribution to the humanities. In his 1964 book *The Origin of American Humanistic Scholars*, Knapp noted that BYU had awarded 56.3% of its total doctoral dissertations in the physical and biological sciences, with only 7.7% given in the humanities. Utah State University's "contribution" to the humanities was hardly that. The Logan school totaled 61.6% of its doctoral dissertations in the sciences; 1.4% in the humanities.⁴² For many Mormons today, the intellectual and moral lessons of classical humanities are still easier relegated to the church. William Mulder, in a 1970 volume of the Mormon journal *Dialogue*, explained that "the Mormon intellectual as humanist finds himself deeply entangled in relative kinds of truth which are not as readily verifiable as in chemistry or mathematics."⁴³

Yet these Mormon thought patterns were not the only influence that operated in Cache Valley or in Utah. In addition, by 1900, 38.5% of the immigrants and native-born Americans engaged in agricultural pursuits. Of these, 56.9% were farmers, planters and overseers, while 30.4% were agricultural laborers. Agrarian values provided a second fount from which the community gathered its standards, a source of comparable, if not equal, significance to that of the Mormon religion.⁴⁴ In a search for support of practical, agricultural training in this area, however, the springs frequently ran dry. Farmers generally feared the schools and distrusted their actions. Isaac P. Roberts, the director of Cornell University's agricultural experiment station, explained, "Farmers, like other people, hesitate to believe and act on theories, or even facts, until they see



A panoramic view of the University of Wyoming in 1899, showing its first three buildings, Mechanical Arts Building, Old Main and to the right the Agriculture Barn and Greenhouse.

with their own eyes the proof of them in material form."⁴⁵ Perhaps the Utah State Agricultural College benefited from its relative late start in 1890, for then farmers were able to "see" results from other universities, although not necessarily with their own eyes. For whatever reason, the possible farmer opposition to the school's practical training appeared to have little effect in the community.

Meanwhile, a slightly different blend of the practical and classical was being attempted at a neighboring land-grant institution, the University of Wyoming. Two years prior to the Utah College's founding, the Ninth Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Wyoming provided for a university "in or near the city of Laramie." Unlike the legislators of Utah, the men of Wyoming did not mimic the federal Morrill Land Grant Bill, using instead their own ideas on equality and education. The aim of their university would be "to provide an efficient means of imparting to young men and women, on equal terms, a liberal education and thorough knowledge of the different branches of

literature, the arts and sciences, with their varied applications."⁴⁶

"Applications" was the key word for the first Board of Trustees. Rather than waiting for a future university president to devise an educational policy, these pioneering men proclaimed their own firm views on the worth of utilitarian training. As noted in a newspaper article summarizing the Board's ideas, the education in Wyoming would be

polytechnic in character, in short that it shall turn out a class of students who, when they graduate shall know how to do something, something the world wants done. While not ignoring the benefits of classical education, the Board recognizes the fact that the world has more use for engineers, mining, civil, gass [sic] electric engineers, for architects, chemists, and mechanics, than it has for men who can merely cackle greek.⁴⁷

The future president of the university, a former Governor of the Territory of Wyoming, agreed with the Board's policy. The thoroughly practically-minded John Wesley

Hoyt had grown up on a family farm in Ohio. While constantly striving to be first in school, the young Hoyt was primarily interested in agriculture. As he wrote in his autobiography, “. . . a still greater happiness [than in school] came to me when I could do something more for the common cause on the farm.”⁴⁸ After graduation from Ohio Wesleyan College, one year in Cincinnati Law School and graduation from the Eclectic Medical Institute in Cincinnati, Hoyt continued on the academic course, teaching at both the Eclectic Medical Institute and at Antioch College. He soon left his professorship, however, moving to the cooler climate of Wisconsin to serve as editor on the agricultural journal *Wisconsin Farmer and Northwestern Cultivator*. Here, Hoyt felt he had found a position to which he was ideally suited. His qualifications, he noted, were “more than just ordinary” owing to “my years on the farm, my study of the sciences that could be made available, my fondness for mingling with the people in a practical way, and my ambition to lead the whole Northwest into the best methods of agricultural and other industrial pursuits.”⁴⁹

These journal years proved to be a pivotal time in Hoyt's life. Having left teaching, Hoyt now became interested in education from the political side. Chosen in 1856 one of the vice-presidents of the U.S. Agricultural Society, he attended the U.S. Exhibition in Virginia. Next he served as the U.S. representative to various international fairs, including the World's London Exhibition in 1862, the Paris Exposition in 1867 and the Vienna Universal Exposition in 1873. Additionally, Hoyt traveled throughout these years in both Europe and the United States visiting universities and agricultural institutions. The result was Hoyt's enthusiastic endorsement in the United States of the industrial, practical education prevalent throughout Europe. He became a staunch advocate of the Morrill Land Grant Bill, making speeches and printing petitions in his journal, the *Wisconsin Farmer*. With the passage of the Morrill Act, Hoyt next concentrated on the establishment of an agricultural school at the University of Wisconsin, one which, he hoped, would combine all the best aspects of the many schools he had visited. Within four years he accomplished this task, again with the aid of the *Wisconsin Farmer* to gain support and publicize an organizing convention. Three years later, in 1869, Hoyt adopted the cause to which he would devote the rest of his life—the founding of a national university. Having concluded from his European travels the relative inferiority of American education, Hoyt proposed the federal government sponsor organized, focused, national education. All Hoyt's ideas on the purpose of education, then and later, would stem from this goal of national university education.⁵⁰

Regarding education's mission, Hoyt, like Sanborn, perceived the benefits in practical-oriented training. In an address titled “Industrial Education in Europe and America,” he explained his policy that practical education of the working classes was the way to a prosperous nation. Yet

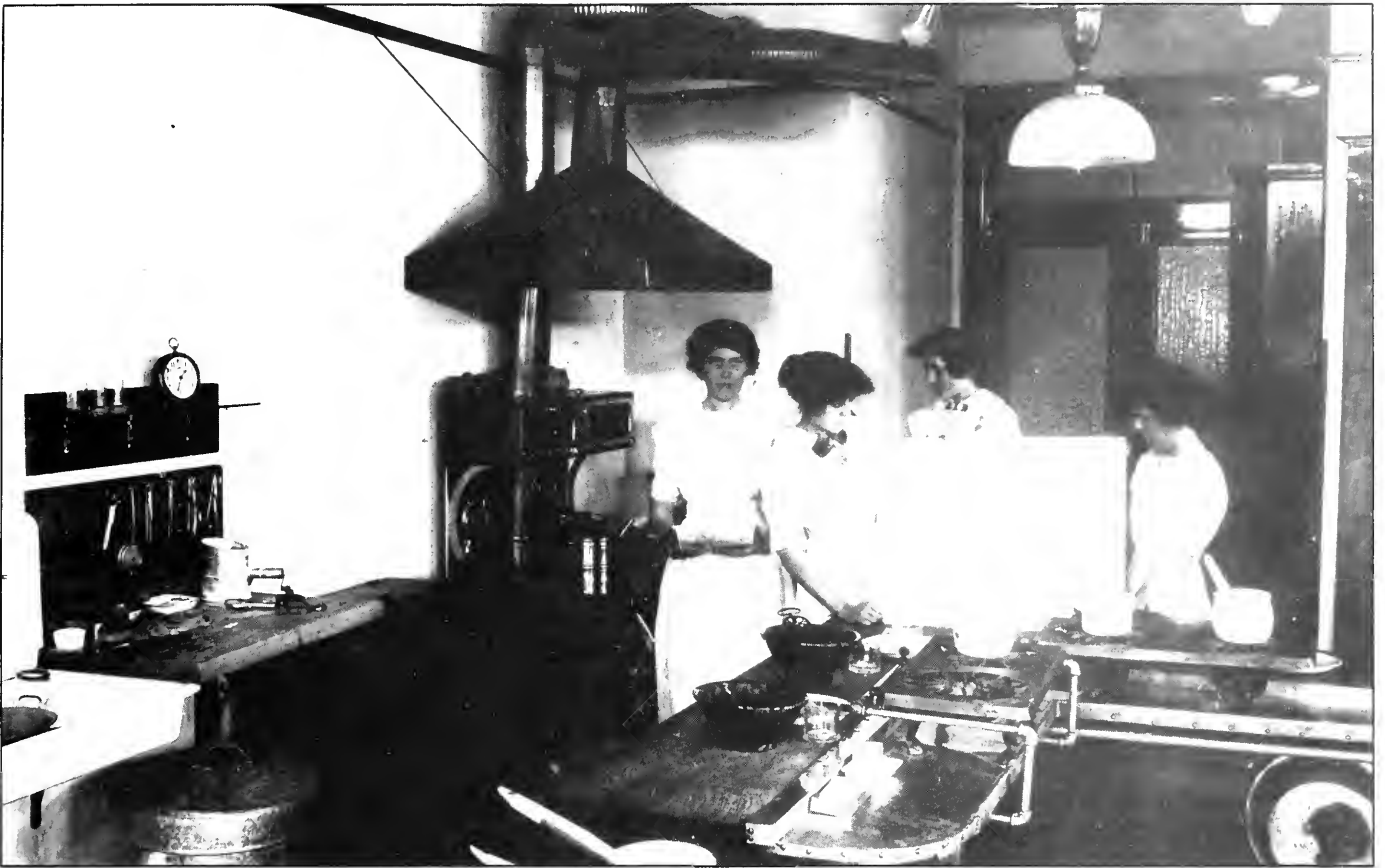
Hoyt went beyond Sanborn, advocating the social change that could also be achieved through industrial education. He continued in his speech, concluding that such training would “insure not only an increase of their producing power for the common good, but also the elevation of their respective pursuits, with corresponding improvement in the lives and manners of workers, and thus steadily lessen those distinctions and degrading discriminations which have so broadly separated the working and the so-called ‘nonworking’ classes in all the past.”⁵¹ This was Hoyt's primary goal. With the working class brought up to the social level of the nonworking class, the latter would eventually disappear. After visiting the Andersonian University in Glasgow, Hoyt stated, “One such college [of practical value] in each large city of the realm would do more for the progress of liberal ideas and overturning of an already tottering aristocracy than all the purely political machinery that can be brought to bear. . . .”⁵²

Hoyt was a true social reformer. The “end” would be equality of men; the “means,” practical training. This did not mean, however, that Hoyt completely ignored classical training. One early chronicler of the university noted that it was Hoyt's arrival and influence which accounted for the “literary atmosphere” pervading the institution. Robert C. Morris wrote in 1897, “The ideal held up before the students and community during these years was that learning and culture should be sought for their own sake, and not from utilitarian motives only.”⁵³ Before his association with the university and while still serving as governor, Hoyt encouraged the Laramie Literary and Library Association and helped found a group in Cheyenne similar to the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Art and Letters. Yet to Hoyt classical learning was an established given, one which would remain regardless. While not discouraging the classical, it was Hoyt's goal to boost the new trend of practical training.⁵⁴ In an 1885 address, Hoyt best explains his own ideas on how classical and practical ideas fit into the true objective of education. He noted

that the once lightly honored pursuits are taking their place among the professions; that useful labor, of whatever sort, is honored as never before; that there is a growing appreciation of the necessity of fitting the worker for his work by giving him the best equipment that science and intelligence can furnish; . . . that civilized communities in all countries are moved in these latter days to efforts for cultivating in children everywhere a taste for the beautiful in nature and art; that moral culture in the schools is coming to be considered a needed security as well for free institutions as for the individual soul.⁵⁵

Hoyt's ideas resembled those of educators across the nation. He did not actually combine the practical and classical, as Sanborn did. Yet, neither did Hoyt feel the need to draw a line between the two. He did not worry about the balance because, in his mind, practical and classical ideas co-existed naturally.

The president would not have much chance to expand his ideas further. Hoyt never truly “belonged” to the



(Above) Home Economics Class, UW photograph taken in Merica Hall, 1910.

(Below) University of Wyoming Mineralogy Class, photograph taken in 1896.



Laramie or the Wyoming community. Indeed, relations between the Territory and Hoyt had begun on a bad note before Hoyt made his initial appearance in the area. In May, 1878, the *Laramie Sentinel* pronounced its backing of the incumbent governor, the one whom Hoyt was to replace. The paper noted the difference between the two men, stating: "Governor Thayer was a western man . . . for many years a resident of Nebraska. He knew the ways and wants of the West."⁵⁶ And as the *Laramie Boomerang* once noted, Hoyt "might well have been taken for one of the patriarch's of the Old Testament."⁵⁷ Any patriarch from the Old Testament World would have contrasted sharply with the restless, rough and tumble Laramie atmosphere. Indeed, if we are to believe one Laramie chronicler, J. H. Triggs, the city was more "rough" than anything else. This historian—writing in 1875—recorded the demographics of the city's settlement population, noting:

In about three months its population aggregated about five thousand souls. Of these there were probably about one thousand strong, earnest, daring men, ready to face any danger . . . if they could, in any honorable way, better their fortunes. One thousand more that were ready to adopt any policy, honorable or otherwise, so that they got money. . . . The balance, with the exception of a few good and noble women, were made up of gamblers, thieves, highwaymen, robbers, cut-throats, garroters, prostitutes. . . .⁵⁸

Unlike the planned settlement of Logan, the first citizens of Laramie merely followed the railroad tracks—and their fortunes—westward.

It is little wonder, then, that education was not foremost in the founders' minds. The majority of early settlers were much more concerned with making a living than they were with educating their children. In an 1870 report to the U.S. Commissioner of Education, a writer from Sweetwater County expressed a commonly-held opinion:

This county alone should have at least 150 old enough to attend school and too young to work, which latter seems to be regarded by too many parents as the chief end of man, and the main object of boys. The educational interests of the territory are generally neglected, either from indifference on the part of parents, or an avaricious disposition to make the propagation of children return early profits, or their superstitious dread that a little learning is a [more] dangerous thing for their sons and daughters than blasting in a mine, driving an ox team, or taking in washing, and marrying early. I believe that, in the cause of education the Territory of Wyoming is behind all other States and Territories in the Union, except, perhaps Alaska.⁵⁹

The Wyoming settlers, in this respect, did not differ much from farmers nationwide.

It appears, however, that there were exceptions to the rule of low educational priority. Triggs, in his account of Laramie, continued, "Public instruction has been liberally encouraged here in the past, and this eminently intelligent and enterprising people are not likely to let this want remain long unsupplied."⁶⁰ And Hoyt, in his initial canvass of the Territory as governor, noted his "surprise" at the educational institutions and "instrumentalities," or instructional equipment. He reported to the Secretary of the

Interior in 1878 that Wyoming's general educational system was one of the best in the United States.⁶¹

These varying views were the result of different classes in the society and, of course, different intents behind the writings. Hoyt, as the new governor of the Territory, hoped and looked for good points; Triggs, writing a history of Laramie, wrote in an optimistic, promotional vein; and the writer to the Commissioner of Education filed—we assume—an honest, factual report. As for the differing class views, Terence Fromong, in his study of early Wyoming education, claims that the two classes in Wyoming held two opposing views concerning the purpose of education. The lower classes—day laborers, miners, farmers—who worked manually for a living and needed their children's work wages, felt that modern education tended

. . . to lift boys and girls to places they are not fitted to fill, to disgust them with the work which they are fitted to do, which must be done, and which can be easily obtained. Our theory of education is constantly losing sight . . . that the mass of people in every generation and under whatever form of government must be laborers. . . . [Children] should have an education which, when completed will make the subject better fitted to pursue well the work for which he is fitted, which makes him not ashamed to do it, and which thus dignifies labor.⁶²

These laborers, as noted in the 1870 report to the Commissioner of Education, were not supportive of education beyond the basic rudiments.

The classes above the laborers, on the other hand, felt education had a much wider, theoretical purpose, one that benefited not only the student, but also the community as a whole. Hoyt, one of the best examples of this view, noted, "Without the intelligence of its people no community may hope to maintain a free government."⁶³ This group, therefore, tended to enthusiastically support education, including higher, classical education.

Yet these professional classes constituted a minority: 3.3% in 1890, 2.6% in 1900. This class disproportion did also exist in Utah. But as noted earlier, a strong number of Utahns were farmers and a large majority were Mormons. The Laramie community, on the other hand, was more heterogeneous, with a much more equalitarian spread among both the occupational sector (excluding the professional area) and the religious affiliation. In the largest of the occupational groups—agrarians—the majority of workers were spread rather equally among farmers, laborers and stock raisers, rather than being concentrated in farming, as in Utah. In religion, the largest group—Catholics—constituted only a *small* majority, 48%.

Did this majority of Catholics nevertheless affect the community's educational views? One answer may be found in the national educational studies mentioned earlier. In 1931, Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty concluded that scientists of the Catholic faith were "grossly under-represented."⁶⁴ Knapp and Goodrich, in their *Origins of American Scientists* (1952), noted that Catholic schools were "very unproductive."⁶⁵ And the general productivity in-

dexes calculated by Hardy (1974) consistently ranked Catholic schools lowest or next to lowest. In addition, Hardy observed, these schools were not only "at the bottom," but also "well below average for all schools studied" with the exception of one field: the arts and professions.⁶⁶ Catholic students, it seems, were not prone to practical studies.

Yet in the case of Wyoming, Catholicism was merely a sidelight. It did not form a majority; neither did the religion itself establish a working, day-to-day relationship with its followers. No patriarchal, community religious leader provided educational guidelines. Similarly, agrarian farming values were peripheral. What *did* affect community values—and therefore educational views—was the large, practical-minded working class.

Both Presidents Hoyt and Sanborn lasted only four years. For, while the administrators busily designed founding policies for the new institutions, the townspeople remained quietly unaware. Once the colleges opened for instruction, however, they also opened themselves to the critique and involvement of the communities. Both presidents stressed the new idea of practical training, blended with the already existing classical ideas. Ironically, the downfall of each administrator did not result from community opposition to the new trend of practicality, but from the townspeople's quick adoption of the idea.

On its first day of instruction, the Utah Agricultural College attracted 22 students. At the beginning of the second year, Sanborn was able to boast: "During the summer evidence has constantly accumulated of the friendly feeling of the public towards the college. The opening confirmed the impressions received—more students being present the first day than ever before congregated in the chapel."⁶⁷ The enrollment that second year—1891—was 139 students. At the beginning of 1892 the number increased to 280, with approximately one third of these coming from the city of Logan itself. By 1893, enrollment totaled 366.⁶⁸

Yet even though Utah sent increasing numbers of its young adults to the school for instruction, the community began to agree less and less with Sanborn's policy. While continuously praising the practical aspects, the citizens now denounced the classical side. In an article titled "Industrial Education" in the *Logan Journal*, the editors wrote of the "isms" and "ologies" of the universities of the past. Thought to properly equip the young men and women for life, this education instead left the students completely unprepared for a life of work. The editors proclaimed, "It is no doubt true that no one should say ought against a purely literary and scientific learning, but since so few are destined to a sole use of these acquisitions in after life, it is important that knowledge available for the millions should be more freely bestowed upon the young."⁶⁹

The community presented a barrier to the successful development of the Utah Agricultural College—not through a direct opposition to the new idea of practical education, but rather through its "hearty endorsement"



PHOTOGRAPH AMH DEPT

John W. Hoyt, first president of the University of Wyoming, 1887-1890. From 1878-1882 Hoyt served as governor of the Territory of Wyoming and in 1889, he was a member of the Wyoming Constitutional Convention.

of the idea.⁷⁰ The remnants of the classical ideas, imported from the East, were no longer desired in the practical West. The carefully intertwined classical/practical structure achieved by Sanborn began to weaken. The president, who had attempted to keep and integrate the classical imports, soon manifested the Eastern, non-Mormon threat felt in the community. He, also, was no longer wanted. When it was learned in May, 1894, that Sanborn had tendered his resignation nine months earlier in order to return to his family farm, the Logan newspaper printed the community response: "It would seem from this that the gentleman has . . . made up his mind to shake the dust of Utah from his feet. . . . The *Journal* bears Mr. Sanborn no ill will—it wishes him success on his New England farm and in his editorial work, in which, by the way, he has had experience for the last two years while drawing his salary from the people of Utah."⁷¹

In Wyoming, Hoyt's troubles with the community continued. While he had succeeded in securing an illusory goodwill, it was temporary, too weak to support him as president of the university. The Board of Trustees discharged Hoyt in December, 1890, supplying numerous reasons including "lax" discipline, Mrs. Hoyt's involvement with the university, "violent and intemperate language" in chapel exercises and an "unfortunate" financial reputation.⁷² The last charge resulted from several specific instances. First, the Board and Hoyt had disagreed

over the use of Morrill Act funds. It appears Hoyt desired instructional equipment for the agricultural and mechanic arts departments, while the Board wanted the money spent on other causes.⁷³ Second, Hoyt had ordered steel engravings for portraits from New York, without the knowledge of the Board. After the Board learned of the purchase, it ordered Hoyt to return the engravings as no funds existed for such a purchase. Hoyt proceeded to make copies and hang them in the university. The Board concluded, "Among men not lost to honor in business intercourse the act of John W. Hoyt . . . would be considered a despicable act of piracy the opposite in example to that which ought to be set before the students of any school."⁷⁴ Finally, the Board ended its statement of allegations, stating that Hoyt was "out of place as an instructor of youth. We found him to be very impractical, visionary, extravagant in his views, autocratic, egotistic, artful, untruthful, greatly influenced by his family and persistently aiming to ignore the Trustees and override the Faculty."⁷⁵

There was, of course, an underlying motive to the Board's dismissal of Hoyt, not mentioned in their report. When Wyoming was admitted to the nation as a state, new government positions opened. Hoyt, interested in a Senate seat, nevertheless refused to publicly declare his candidacy. As a result, the county delegates were committed to sup-

port him at the convention. Five of these delegates also were interested in the Senatorial seat; four of these five were university Board of Trustee members as well. After Hoyt lost the seat, without fighting to win, he was dismissed by action of the Board.⁷⁶

Hoyt did fight, however, to regain his position as president. In the two months of January and February, 1891, he wrote at least eight letters to members of the new Board of Trustees. These included a 30 page pamphlet—"Leading Facts in the Public Record of Ex-Governor John W. Hoyt, LL. D."—containing 24 pages of favorable recommendations and reviews of him and his work.⁷⁷ Another printed pamphlet, addressed anonymously to "My Dear Friend," noted, "What I now need is the present earnest help of my true friends in breaking the power of the corrupt combination, here by means of representations to members of the new board. . . ."⁷⁸

Evident in all these letters was Hoyt's public embarrassment. He repeatedly listed all his many prestigious positions, yet noted, "It was reserved for a coterie of school trustees in this little mountain town to put me under the ban of their displeasure, and to mar, if possible, this record of a life devoted to public good."⁷⁹ If allowed to continue as president, Hoyt did not plan to remain long; he would resign in a few months. He merely hoped for "a prompt



Old Main, University of Wyoming

re-instatement as my only possible vindication," and "that I be rescued from this present discredit before the world. . . ." ⁸⁰

Evident, also, from these letters was the politician Hoyt's lack of political acumen in this affair. He consistently denounced the members of the old Board to the members of the new. For example, he stated:

A few ambitious men, most of them wanting, as came to be manifest, in nearly every requisite, managed to get themselves placed in control and have since appeared to think they, themselves owned the institution. . . . The men in control were, some of them, even narrower, more ignorant of educational matters, and, worse than all, more conceited, than I knew—men who made no proper distinction between a university and a district school. . . . ⁸¹

Not surprisingly, the new Board, not wanting to pass judgment on the old Board, refused Hoyt's application. Furthermore, the Board repeatedly refused to pay the remainder of his salary. ⁸²

Yet Hoyt had hit on the fundamental line of conflict: the president wanted a university, in line with the best of the nation; the Board wanted a working, useful college. Grace Hebard, a member of the new Board, referred to Hoyt—years after the affair—as "the outstanding one [of the presidents] intellectually, due to his years of preparation, and his experience, coupled with the fact that he had a marvelous vision for the future and we are living on that vision today, which has not, even after forty-one years, been completed." ⁸³ As the newspapers would note after his dismissal, Hoyt was "too visionary and impractical," "too theoretical and impractical." ⁸⁴ In answer, Hoyt noted that "a practical man is one who wisely adapts means to useful ends. This definition accepted, my own claim is sufficiently established." ⁸⁵ Unfortunately for Hoyt, it was not. He remained in Laramie for a short time, attempting—unsuccessfully—to publish a weekly periodical of "high editorial and literary merit." ⁸⁶ After failing in this endeavor, for lack of financial support, Hoyt returned East to Washington, D.C., in order to pursue his life-long goal—the establishment of a national university.

Neither Hoyt nor Sanborn was perceived as practical enough by people in Wyoming and Utah, people who overwhelmingly favored useful training. The Mormons in Utah needed useful instruction to aid in the building and preservation of their kingdom; the farmers, unsure about higher education in general for their children, nevertheless would favor the practical over the classical. In Wyoming, too, the people favored the practical, although for different reasons. Here, the population was dispersed throughout the different occupations and religions. However, the majority were laborers, people who saw no need for their children to learn much beyond the basics needed for work.

Yet the influence of the people on educational policy was limited. True, the communities did defeat Sanborn and Hoyt in the immediate terms of local public opinion. Yet both Sanborn and Hoyt nevertheless succeeded—each in

his own manner—in establishing a feasible educational policy. To Sanborn, the present mattered, and the "present" for students in the 1890s required practical training for a life of work, coupled with the character-shaping benefits of classical ideas. In Wyoming, Hoyt looked beyond Sanborn's present, seeing past the immediate gains of practical training and glimpsing the social changes possible. Stressing practicality as well as equality and reform, Hoyt reflected the progressive attitudes of his time. Sanborn, on the other hand, was an individualist. While not as farsighted, his educational policy was the most distinctive. In either case, the president introduced the new educational theory of the time. Over the years educational ideas would again change, upsetting the delicate relations between the practical and the classical once established. As a result, university advisory councils today seek anew policies that will wed the humanities and sciences, join "head and hand."

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WYOMING'S TRUSS BRIDGES

by Rheba C. Massey
Rick Ewig

Bridge over Green River, Sweetwater County, built 1913.

For more than 100 years people traveling the roads throughout Wyoming have seen the many different types of truss bridges. These structures, as part of a vast transportation network, have played an important role in the settlement of the state. Today, however, more and more of the trusses are being removed and replaced, thereby denying Wyoming a portion of its history.

Transportation systems were vital to the settlement of the West. The paths laid out by animals were followed and supplemented by Indians, fur trappers, western-bound emigrants, railroads and automobiles. One important facet of this transportation web was bridge construction. Compared to wading, swimming, rafting or ferrying, bridges were a tremendous improvement in the crossing of waterways. At first constructed of readily available materials and the most basic design, it took until the 1870s for metal bridges in such forms as cantilever, arch, suspension and truss to come West.

Only the truss bridge was of modern invention and one which "may be considered primarily an American achievement."¹ Because of the railroad, the early 19th century witnessed a great expansion of truss bridges. Engineers designed such spans as the Howe, Pratt, Whipple and others to handle the heavier loads, longer crossings and greater rigidity requirements of the railroads. These attributes also made the trusses attractive to road builders in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The history of truss bridge building in Wyoming can be traced back to 1875 when the U.S. Army contracted with the King Bridge and Manufacturing Company of Cleveland, Ohio, to build a bowstring truss over the North Platte River two miles from Fort Laramie.² This structure is thought to be the oldest existing military bridge west of the Mississippi. Most truss bridges in the state, however, were not built in this manner.

At first, private individuals built the necessary bridges, but eventually such endeavors became the property and responsibility of the public. Wyoming counties accepted full responsibility for building roads and bridges in the early 1900s. Oftentimes the appropriations for these projects were the largest county allocations of funds. During these times various counties paid thousands of dollars for a single metal truss bridge and on occasion had to delay construction of certain bridge projects because all the available funds for a certain year had been expended.

The usual procedure followed by the counties in the construction of a bridge was to advertise for bids—most times asking the contractors to prepare plans—and then accept the "lowest and best" bid. The major contractors who bid on Wyoming bridges came mostly from the Midwest and Colorado. These included the Canton Bridge Company of Canton, Ohio, Midland Bridge Company of Kansas City, Missouri, Midwest Steel & Iron Works Company of Pueblo, Colorado, and Monarch Engineering of Denver, Colorado.

As the use of automotive transportation became more

prevalent, an adequate system of roads and bridges was even more paramount. The number of tourists who came to enjoy the many spectacles of Wyoming greatly increased. Also, as automobile use spread it affected individual lifestyles. People living in Wyoming's small, remote communities no longer had to be confined to their isolated areas, but could travel to the mountains or other cities.

Roads all across the country were ill-prepared for the increasing traffic. In 1914, there were 71,000 miles of state highways nationally, half of which were just graded earth and only about half of the states had highway departments. The typical bridges of the time used concrete T-beams for short spans and pony and through trusses for longer spans.

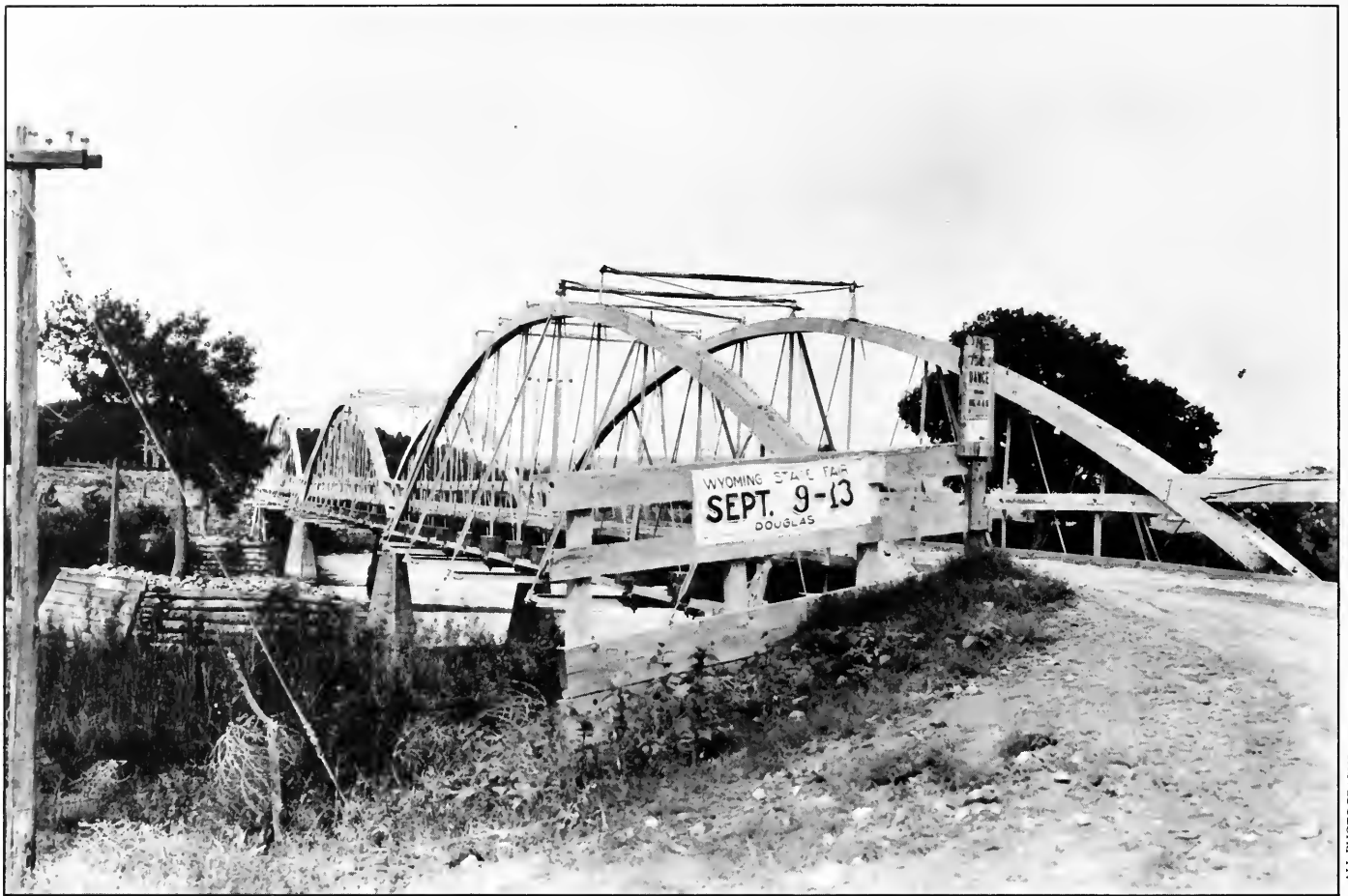
Wyoming was not totally devoid of highways at the time. Some enterprising businessmen across the nation formed the Lincoln Highway Association in 1913. The Lincoln Highway eventually crossed southern Wyoming. Additionally, the Black and Yellow Trail crossed northern Wyoming in 1914. Wyoming still needed major improvements in its road system, however.

An important step toward a modern and adequate state highway was the creation of the Wyoming Highway Department in 1917, in accordance with the July, 1916, Federal Highway Act. That same year the state received \$61,200 of the first federal appropriation for highway funds. At its inception, lack of finances marked the Highway Department and hampered its efforts to correct the dismal road and bridge situation it saw.

At this time Wyoming was a vast wilderness so far as her road system was concerned. A number of trails connected the principal centers of population, and there was little if any travel on them with the exception of the rural mail delivery. The County or State had no right of way to speak of, and where there was any roads or trails, their location was such as made it impractical to retain the existing lines. There was probably no bridge in the State suitable for carrying modern traffic such as improved roads would develop.³

Studying bridge construction in Wyoming, the State Highway Department concluded that it "is of particular interest and importance because several factors affecting the design of structures, which do not call for special study in the more fully settled and flatter sites of the East, here demand the most careful consideration." A few examples are the normally dry streams or draws which may carry inordinately large amounts of water because of a sudden cloudburst. Also, flow of streams at times may be affected by irrigation projects and the "disposition of materials further affects the design in a number of cases, as do also the extremely long distances from railroad shipping points, which in some instances increase the cost of concrete work from five to eight times that in other localities."⁴

One of the first acts of the new highway department was to standardize bridge plans and specifications. Each Board of County Commissioners received the new plans.



Oldest truss bridge in Wyoming, constructed in 1875 by the U.S. Army across the North Platte River. Located two miles from Fort Laramie and thought to be the oldest existing military bridge west of the Mississippi. Photograph taken in 1930.

The state hoped to reduce the number of bridge failures, most of which happened due to faulty foundations.

The onset of the Depression was a boon to road and bridge construction in Wyoming. The federal government appropriated money for various relief projects during these hard times, such as a federal building program and an expanded highway construction program. In 1934, the highway program put to work approximately 25% of Wyoming's unemployed during seasonable weather.⁵

After World War II, the erection of a new truss bridge in Wyoming was rare, but these spans still played a major part in the state's highway system because of their versatility. One attribute is its easy disassembly, transportation and reassembly. Therefore, these bridges are constantly on the move, ending up over a different river or creek, or stored in a highway yard waiting to be used again.

Today truss bridges are fast becoming replaced by the modern I-beam and girder bridges. Thus, these historic truss bridges are now seen as artifacts representing important developments in structural technology. An understanding of the importance of historic bridges, combined with active public support for using federal programs to encourage preservation is the key to increasing rehabilitation and reuse of these truss bridges. The Wyoming Highway Department (WHD) and the Wyoming State Historic

Preservation Office (WSHPO) are working cooperatively to preserve these historic truss bridges for adaptive reuse.

In 1982, the WHD completed a historic inventory of 168 truss bridges. Thirty-eight truss bridges were nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, and of these 38 only 28 bridges remain. Some of these are scheduled for replacement and are available to public and private sources for alternate uses. Two truss bridges (Pick and Pelous) have been preserved for adaptive reuse during the last year. As Wyoming communities recognize the significance of these older bridges within America's contemporary landscape, perhaps more will be retained as working, useful reminders of our state's historical development.

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2. John Dishon McDermott, "Fort Laramie's Iron Bridge," *Annals of Wyoming* (October 1962): 136-144.
3. Wyoming State Highway Commission, *First Biennial Report of the State Highway Commission of the State of Wyoming, 1917-1918* (Laramie, Wyoming: The Laramie Republican Company, Printers and Binders, 1919), p. 9.
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(Above) Wind River Diversion Dam Bridge, Fremont County. Longest highway truss bridge in Wyoming, consisting of eight Warren pony trusses. Built in 1924 by Taggart Construction Company, Cody, at an estimated cost of \$58,000.

(Below) Bridge over Powder River, Sheridan County. Constructed in 1915 of one Pratt truss and one Warren truss. The only one of its kind in the state.





Bridge over Wind River, Fremont County. A 1930s bridge constructed from Wyoming Highway Department (WHD) standard drawings. In 1953, the WHD contracted with Charles M. Smith, Thermopolis, to reassemble this bridge over the Wind River. This is the longest of several long-span Parker through trusses in the state.



Bridge over Cheyenne River, Niobrara County. At first, probably a railroad truss, later moved to this location. It is one of only two vehicular Pennsylvania truss bridges in the state.



Little Colorado Bridge over Green River, Lincoln County. Civilian Conservation Corp. enrollees from Camp Kemmerer erected this steel truss bridge in 1939-40. The steel section was from an old bridge over Blacksfork near Bryan. Sheepman used this bridge as a short cut to the Little Colorado Desert. The construction was part of the Taylor Grazing program which improved old plus built new roads and trails throughout the range district.



Bridge over Shoshone River, Big Horn County. Built by McGuire and Blakeslee, Lovell, in 1925-26 on a federal aid project. Designed by the WHD, it was one of many Warren pony trusses erected in the state at the time.

Bridge over Green River, Sweetwater County. Built by Colorado Bridge and Construction Company in 1913.

With a span of 150' this is one of the longest of the early Pratt through trusses which were common on the county road system at that time.



Bridge over Green River, Sweetwater County. Sweetwater County contracted with Charles G. Sheely, Denver, in 1909, to construct this bridge called the Big Island Bridge. It is a two-span Pratt through truss.



Bridge over North Platte River, Carbon County. Called the "Butler Bridge," Chris O'Neil of Plattville, Colorado, built this 170' Camelback truss in 1930 for \$11,920 to replace a timber bridge which had been heavily damaged by the spring flood of 1929. Platte Valley residents petitioned the Carbon County Commissioners for its reconstruction.



Pick Bridge over North Platte River, Carbon County. In 1907, citizens of Rawlins and Fort Steele petitioned the Carbon County Commissioners, "praying" for a steel bridge across the North Platte River. In 1909, the Commissioners awarded the contract to Charles G. Sheely, Denver, for \$12,700. The county moved this Parker through truss in 1934 twenty-one miles up the river to the Pick Road Crossing. Recently the WHD had planned to dismantle the bridge. The Carbon County Historical Society formed a committee to seek the preservation of the bridge. The Carbon County Commissioners are now working with the WHD to leave the bridge in place.

ANNAL'S REVIEWS

Coxey's Army: An American Odyssey. By Carlos A. Schwantes. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1985) Index. Notes. Illus. Map. 321 pp. \$22.95.

For seven weeks during the harsh economic times of 1894, Coxey's Army caught the nation's eye. Jacob Coxey, an Ohio businessman, began a movement which became known as the Commonweal of Christ and was composed of "industrial armies" from around the country. Hoping to get relief for the many unemployed workers, the movement ended in failure, when the federal government ignored their proposed programs.

Carlos Schwantes, in his book *Coxey's Army: An American Odyssey*, examines this episode in American history from several different angles. First, the press played an important role. Newspapers focused the nation's attention on this first national crusade against unemployment, and while still not full-fledged yellow journalism, it at least had a "yellowish tinge" according to Schwantes. Additionally, he sees it as a history of "American reform" and as a chapter in history which shows the modern welfare state had its "roots in popular protest."

The strong suit of the book, however, is in the narrative of the many marches to Washington, D.C. Coxey led the march from his hometown, Massillon, Ohio, to the U.S. Capitol. This march is fascinating in itself because of the many hardships endured and the colorful characters, such as Carl Browne, Coxey's co-leader, but it is the marches from the West which receive the greatest attention.

Schwantes points out that most of the marchers came from the West and it is in the West where the movement "attained its greatest strength and significance." Industrial armies formed in Washington, California, Montana, Oregon and Colorado. The members marched, rode trains—sometimes stealing the trains and then being chased by law enforcement officials closely resembling "Keystone Cops"—and at times via the nation's waterways. Of course, not all of the armies found their way to Washington, D.C.

A short time before the formation of Coxey's Army, Frederick Jackson Turner presented an address on the ending of the frontier. The many western Coxeyites traveling east seemed to validate Turner's thesis. According to Schwantes, this protest movement from west to east "undermined the popular belief that the fertile agricultural

lands of the frontier represented America's most practical form of social security and a wise alternative."

In order to present us with this interesting and well-written account of Coxey's Army, Schwantes researched an impressive number of primary sources, the majority of which are newspapers from around the country. A map of the many routes traveled is provided along with photographs of the people involved and of the trips east.

Finally, although Coxey's Army did not result in any immediate relief for the many unemployed of the 1890s, Schwantes sees it as having far-reaching effects. According to him, "it chipped away at the popular belief that poverty and unemployment were mainly the result of individual weakness and laziness and promoted the idea that the federal government was responsible for the economic well-being of its citizens," an issue which is still being addressed today.

RICK EWIG

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The Medicine Bows: Wyoming's Mountain Country, by Scott Thybony, Robert G. Rosenberg and Elizabeth Mullett Rosenberg. (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1985) Index. Illustrations. Bibliography. Appendix. 180 pp. \$7.95.

Wyoming is known throughout America as the home of spectacular alpine country. Outdoorsmen across the land speak with reverence when discussing the mountain peaks of Grand Teton or Yellowstone National Parks. While no one would dispute the grandeur of these highly publicized destination resorts, seasoned Wyomingites often know of special mountain places which remain unfamiliar to the average tourist. The Medicine Bow Range is such a place.

Recreation enthusiasts readily appreciate the lack of notoriety regarding the Medicine Bows—or Snowy Range in local parlance. A few northern Coloradoans have discovered the fine skiing, snowmobiling, hiking and fishing available in the Snowy's, but the area remains largely the playground of southeastern Wyoming residents. While solitude seekers revel in this relatively unknown and uncrowded environment, historians have to lament the lack of attention hitherto paid the Medicine

Bow Range. Considering that the routes of the Overland Trail and original transcontinental railroad exist in close proximity to these mountains, not to mention the Indians, miners, lumberjacks and national forest rangers who have lived and worked in the surrounding high country, one would think the area worthy of serious historical study.

The Medicine Bows by Scott Thybony, Robert G. Rosenberg and Elizabeth Mullett Rosenberg represents a first step towards filling this regrettable historical data gap. Although primarily a history of the Medicine Bow National Forest, the book covers a broad topical spectrum ranging from prehistoric and Native American dwellers to contemporary water resource issues. The authors merit particular commendation for tracing the recent rise of recreational use in a forest once dominated by exploitive mining and timbering interests.

Unfortunately, the book displays a reportlike writing style devoid of interpretation or extended explanation. Lacking any contextual framework, the reader is left to sort through a litany of facts and draw his or her own conclusions. This task proves difficult as the authors frequently beg questions with statements such as, "In 1844, [John C.] Fremont once again entered the Medicine Bow region from the west on his return from California." While the reader might justifiably wonder why Fremont had been in California and what events caused his return to the Medicine Bows, these obvious questions are never addressed.

The text is also hampered by a cumbersome notation style. Conventional footnotes are eschewed in favor of parenthetical abbreviations which refer the reader to the bibliography for a complete citation. While this system is not totally impractical, it does represent a departure from accepted footnoting rules. More importantly, enclosing the citations in parentheses tends to seriously disrupt the flow of the narrative.

To their credit, the extensive bibliography readily attests to the authors' considerable research skills. They deserve applause for utilizing their skills to examine a previously underdeveloped topic. The book wisely avoids the cattle and cowboy theme which has often acted to misrepresent Wyoming's history and Wyomingites in general. Instead, a new addition has been made to the remarkably brief list of scholarly studies which presently constitute the body of Wyoming historiography. Until someone takes the authors' work a step further by launching an analytical study of these mountains and their environs, Snowy Range aficionados will want this book for their personal collections.

BRUCE J. NOBLE, JR.

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U.S. Army Uniforms and Equipment, 1889 By the Quartermaster General of the Army. Foreword by Jerome A. Greene. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986) Index. Illustrations. 375 pp. \$9.95.

During the past two decades considerable interest in the U.S. Army's uniform and equipment during the Victorian era has prompted the publication of many books and monographs. In his foreword to *U.S. Army Uniforms . . .*, Jerome Greene lists some of these modern works as well as provides a concise bibliography of other 19th century government publications related to the topic of martial attire and equipage. His chief service, however, stems from making this rare edition available to the public, for as he states, this book "marked a milestone in the development of standards and specifications for clothing and equipment . . . by the War Department."

Long out of print, this difficult to find volume contains an incredible wealth of information. It should be a standard for museum registrars, historic sites dealing with frontier military life and for individuals interested in "living history." Students of material culture of the late 1800s will also find the reprint a fine addition to their library since such items as chairs, mattresses and scrub brushes appear along with excellent line drawings of each item, as well as detailed descriptions of the pieces. The same minute information which made it possible for contractors and quartermaster manufacturing depots to fabricate the materials contained in this work, likewise make it possible to duplicate some of the objects today.

While smaller in size than the original bulky version, this paperback is still of adequate dimensions for easy reading. The quality of reproduction is more than acceptable since the illustrations were carefully executed line drawings in the 1889 edition. In fact, they are suitable for use in exhibit work should museums wish to employ them in displays depicting life at old army garrisons. The only minor objection is the cover stock which is easily damaged if not handled with care. Nevertheless, this slight drawback does not detract from the wealth of data found in *U.S. Army Uniforms . . .*. Consequently, the University of Nebraska Press should be congratulated for recognizing the utility this obscure book will have to a wide range of readers. I hope their effort will prove successful and spark other similar attempts to distribute important reference sources to the public.

JOHN P. LANGELLIER.

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Dust Bowl Descent. By Bill Ganzel. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984) Photographs. Technical Notes. 130 pp. \$29.95.

The work of the Farm Security Administration during the Great Depression has been described in many publications. Professor Rexford Tugwell, head of one of the U.S. Government's alphabet agencies, the Resettlement Administration, hired a former student, Roy Stryker, to head up the FSA. The people whom Stryker hired, in turn, are recognized as some of America's foremost documentary

photographers: Dorothea Lange, Russell Lee, Walker Evans, Arthur Rothstein, John Vachon, Jack Delano, Edwin Rosskam, Carl Myrdans and Marion Post Wolcott. Their images taught Americans something about migrant workers, sharecroppers, the dust bowl and a down-and-out America of the 1930s. The FSA photographs, 80,000 of them covering a period of nine years (1935-1943) are located in rows of grey steel file cabinets in the Prints and Photographs Division at the Library of Congress. Not only are these images symbols of the terrible ordeal which America suffered, they are in some cases fine photographic art.

Photographs taken 40 years later by Bill Ganzel in *Dust Bowl Descent* are similarly journalistic as well as artistic in composition and exposure. "My interest was to do photographs that stood on their own," explained producer Ganzel at his Nebraska ETV office in Lincoln. Indeed, the 37 year-old Nebraska native not only accomplished that purpose, by combining Depression photographs with his own, he has produced a sensitive document on the Great Plains.

Even if you do not take time to read Ganzel's brief text, you will have no problem with the obvious, as well as subtle, comparisons of Ganzel's follow-up photography. The pictorial *Dust Bowl Descent*, 9¾" x 10½" in size, is no ordinary "in the points of the pioneers' tripods" effort. In some cases, Ganzel's subjects were exactly those selected by FSA photographers, but in other cases the subjects were only similar and were photographed by Ganzel, hundreds of miles distant from the original FSA location. When Ganzel could find the people seen in the Depression views he made their portraits, often in the same environment as the original. But he also recorded people who, by their activities, had something in common with their predecessors. For example, they might be herding livestock, dancing, drinking, watching a rodeo or carnival burlesque, or be children playing "fox and geese" in a snow-covered country schoolyard.

Compare one of Ganzel's own favorites—his 1979 portrait of North Dakota farmer William Huravitch—with one taken of Huravitch by Russell Lee in 1937 and you will see not only a person who has aged 42 years, but also an environmental portrait that is more intriguing than the original. The similarity of the views is still obvious, however. In Lee's view the young Huravitch sits on the wooden porch stoop of his log home, smoking his pipe, while in Ganzel's photograph the old man Huravitch sits stiffly upright on a weatherbeaten bench in front of an aged frame farmhouse, putting a pinch of snuff in his cheek.

Some of Ganzel's subjects posed, some did not and some who posed provided happy accidents, like Florence Thompson. Dorothea Lange posed Thompson, the "Migrant Mother" in 1936, with her three infant children clinging to her. When Ganzel photographed the elder Thompson she was surrounded by her three middle-aged daughters on the lawn of a Modesto, California, home, her right

hand against her cheek in much the same way she held it in 1936. According to Ganzel, the gesture was unconscious and when he remarked to his subjects that there was a similarity in the gestures over the years, Thompson's daughters became aware for the first time that they, too, used their mother's mannerism. How little some habits change in 43 years! Not long after Ganzel recorded the Thompsons on film, Florence died. And so it was with Nettie Featherston, whom Dorothea Lange posed in 1938 as the "Woman of the High Plains," a slim young woman in coarse dress, her left arm across her breast supporting the right arm and the hand that shielded her eyes from the Texas Panhandle sun.

Some of his subjects Ganzel located simply by dialing directory assistance; others required detective work to find. But, in nearly all cases the people he found he interviewed and then composed thoughtfully, with the result that his own photographs have become valuable documents in themselves. One comparison that does not live up to his high standards is shown below a photograph by Russell Lee. It shows the rear ends of ponies lined up at a 1940 stock show in San Angelo, Texas. Ganzel's companion photo shows the protruding hips of a girls' drill team taken in the same town in 1979. The idea is clear enough, but the photograph is not of the usual high caliber offered by the author.

During his travels in search of FSA subjects Bill Ganzel was not simply the detached scholar who, supported by a steady income, went about his job as a scientist in a laboratory. For a while he suffered from unemployment and a \$10,000 debt. Although he would not, could not, know the depths of depression suffered by people who—forced from their homes by tractors, dust or low farm prices—knew not where their next meals were coming from, he experienced anomie and the fatigue that would come from logging 50,000 miles across the Great Plains in a Volkswagen bug and later, a Toyota Landcruiser. He learned to welcome the sight of his motel room each night where he could flop down in front of an undemanding television. "I became addicted to TV—a touch of home," he recalled.

Ganzel's purpose in *Dust Bowl Descent* was not to demonstrate how the lives of FSA subjects had materially changed, although obviously some had. He wanted to continue the FSA project in a type of "serial document." The result of his conscientious effort is not a comprehensive documentary but rather a selective work that stands on its own merit, a sensitive and noteworthy chronicle of the Great Plains as a unique environment.

"Certainly I've come to a new understanding of the prairie environment and the plains landscape," said Ganzel. "And I have specific and fond memories of the people who opened their lives to me. Perhaps it is the stories they told me about the times they went through that I remember most. Sitting in living rooms in Felt, Oklahoma, or Williston, North Dakota, I began to realize

that these were more than just stories that parents tell unimpressed children. . . . I began to understand the human costs of the Depression, how difficult a time it really was. This was not a history text, but instead, individuals who had been caught up in a terrible social upheaval and survived. As I looked at their faces, I began to realize the simple survival was something to be proud of."

Ganzel also can be proud of *Dust Bowl Descent*, a book which is more than just another coffee-table publication. Credit also goes to the University of Nebraska Press staff, particularly Richard Eckersley for his fine layout, design and typographical work. The quality of images in *Dust Bowl Descent* is no accident, being the result of a laser-copying process employed by the printer, Dai Nippon of Japan. If you enjoy history as well as photography you can curl up in your Lazy-Boy and turn the pages of *Dust Bowl Descent*, pondering over the photographs of Depression survivors and scenes from the heartland of America that were done by some of America's finest photographers, including the talented Bill Ganzel.

MARK JUNG

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The Mount Rushmore Story. By Judith St. George. (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1985) Index. Bibliography. 125 pp. \$13.95.

" . . . Mount Rushmore and the Black Hills, close to the geographical center of the United States, have touched many people in many ways." This is the theme pursued by Judith St. George in *The Mount Rushmore Story*. The Black Hills are visited by numerous tourists each year, with many traveling to Mount Rushmore to admire the grandeur of the sculpture. Carved in granite on the side of the mountain are the faces of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Theodore Roosevelt and Abraham Lincoln. These four presidents represent the nation's founding, political philosophy, expansion and conservation.

The memorial was suggested by Doane Robinson, secretary and historian of the South Dakota Historical Society. The project, believed to be a tourist attraction, was supported by South Dakota Senator Peter Norbeck and other officials at the state and federal level of government. St. George chronicles the ups and downs of government financing to complete the memorial, as well as the struggles between the National Park Service and sculptor Gutzon Borglum concerning administration of the site.

St. George has written a biography of Borglum and his monumental task to turn the face of a mountain into a gigantic tribute to the greatness of America. Mount Rushmore is not only a monument to Borglum's artistic and engineering skills, it is a lasting tribute to the workers who labored on the project. Built during the Depression, the project gave employment to out-of-work miners, cowboys and ranch hands: many who had no previous experience working with stone.

The book is richly illustrated. These photographs reveal not only the history of the Black Hills, but more importantly, the building of the monument; documented in a series of photographs taken by Lincoln Borglum. The visual presentation adds immensely to the understanding of the Mount Rushmore story.

St. George should be praised for her diligent efforts to point out why the Black Hills are important to the American Indian, especially the Sioux. Readers, however, are left to ponder the specific significance of the monument to the Indians. Is it a violation of Indian sacred territory? The author again allows the reader to decide.

So, too, all people must decide the value of the granite sculpture. The details of its building, equipment used, engineering techniques, all add to an understanding of the monument's history. However, readers are left by questions about the destruction of nature and the monument as a visual intrusion upon the environment. As St. George points out, the same issues have plagued the National Park Service as it administers the area and preserves it for posterity. Perhaps it is this one topic that the author could have expanded: the manner in which the NPS interprets the site for the visitor.

Good interpretation sets the stage and presents factors for the visitor, and each person will decide for him/herself what is beautiful or true. St. George has accomplished this in her book. She has told the reader the story of Mount Rushmore and encourages each person to interpret "the significance of this ancient granite mountain."

This book should be "must" reading for all visitors to Mount Rushmore.

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The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teaching Given to John G. Neihardt. Raymond J. DeMallie, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984) Index. Bibliography. Maps. Appendices. 462 pp. \$19.95 cloth.

The almost mystical relationship between author-poet John G. Neihardt and Oglala Sioux holy man Nicholas Black Elk forms the central theme of Raymond J. DeMallie's *The Sixth Grandfather*. Dividing his work into three parts, DeMallie begins by presenting a biography of Black Elk, centering on his later life and his literary partnership with Neihardt. The book's two remaining sections contain the transcripts of Neihardt's interviews with Black Elk and other Lakotas on which his books were based. The first set of interviews, conducted in 1931, covers Lakota history from the 1860s until the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890. It was during the course of these interviews that Black Elk revealed the sacred vision which guided much of his life. The second set of interviews, conducted in 1944, contains a general history of the Lakota people largely set prior to the coming of white men. From these interviews Neihardt

composed two works, *Black Elk Speaks* (1932) and *When the Tree Flowered* (1952), which DeMallie credits with helping preserve Lakota culture. Also, because of their popularity with the general reading audience, Neihardt's writings have served to introduce non-Indian readers to the Lakota philosophy and world view.

Born in December, 1863, Black Elk received his great vision in 1873 and began his career as a medicine man in 1881. His curiosity about the white world led him to work in Europe with "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Show from 1886 to 1889. After returning with his new knowledge, he worked as a healer until 1900 when, according to his vision, the time came for him to perform rituals designed to destroy all the Lakota's white enemies. Unwilling to be responsible for such a slaughter, Black Elk turned instead to Christianity, a faith he had studied since his first contact with whites. He embraced Roman Catholicism, joining a congregational society and working as a missionary and catechist. Yet Black Elk maintained his role as a traditional leader, taking part in ceremonies and even arranging to perform them for whites to educate them in Indian culture. His relationship with Neihardt induced him to relive his vision and attempt its fulfillment.

As DeMallie points out, Neihardt's interviews were painstakingly translated and, when necessary, reorganized into an easily readable form. DeMallie himself edited out many of the redundancies and used numerous footnotes to clarify references to obscure people and events and to provide bibliographical references for further reading. Even with these technical alterations, the richness of spirit reinforces the idea, supported by DeMallie, that Neihardt's writing favorably reflects the majestic scope of Black Elk's teachings. While the literary refinement is Neihardt's, the story is unquestionably Black Elk's. Such a partnership was clearly Black Elk's intent. Believing Neihardt was sent to learn wisdom, Black Elk first adopted him and then made him heir to his sacred vision. Accordingly, Neihardt related to the outside world Black Elk's vision of the power of the Lakota to bring together all people in union with the power of the cosmos. That Black Elk maintained his Christianity alongside traditional beliefs is not surprising, given the reverence with which many Native Americans hold a variety of religious beliefs without one excluding another.

While Neihardt's works have given a valid and consistent interpretation of Black Elk's teachings, he did avoid some of the more violent aspects of the Oglala holy man's vision. DeMallie has published the entire text of the great vision, including a section omitted by Neihardt in which Black Elk received the power to destroy all whites. Because Black Elk had refused to employ his destructive powers when the time came, Neihardt chose to omit this aspect of the vision in order to stress the spiritual unity which he perceived Black Elk himself had chosen as the ultimate heart of his message.

In the end, Neihardt's works reflect Black Elk's despair that he could not bring the fruits of his vision to his peo-

ple in his lifetime. Yet as DeMallie points out, Black Elk lived a rich and productive life in both the Lakota and the white world. A teacher of faith in two cultures, Black Elk actually succeeded because his vision remains alive. Just as Neihardt's writings and Joseph Epps Brown's *The Sacred Pipe* introduced their readers to Black Elk, *The Sixth Grandfather* is indispensable reading for those who wish to further explore Black Elk's world.

JODYE LYNN DICKSON SCHILZ

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An Annotated Bibliography of Northern Plains Ethnohistory. By Katherine M. Weist and Susan R. Sharrock. (Missoula: Contributions to Anthropology, No. 8, Department of Anthropology, University of Montana, 1985) Index. 299 pp. \$15.00 paper.

This long overdue bibliography will be a welcome addition to the reference libraries of academic scholars of Northern Plains Indian ethnohistory. The authors have limited the geographic region for context to the area bounded on the South by the North Platte River, on the North by the Saskatchewan River, the East by the Missouri River and the West by the Rocky Mountains. Their time period for inclusion is from 1690 to 1880 (prior to the "reservation period"). Entries have also been limited to those which they consider primary resources.

Nomadic tribes identified within this region and time period are: The Blackfeet (Piegan, Blood Northern Blackfeet); Gros Ventre (Atsina); Assiniboine; Plains Cree; Plains Ojibwa; Crow; Cheyenne; Arapaho; and the Teton Dakota (Oglala, Brule, Hunkpapa, Minneconjou, Blackfeet, Two Kettle, Sans Arc). The authors also added other tribal units residing at times within the region (the Yankton, Yanktonnai and Santee Sioux). Horticultural tribes selected for inclusion are the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara (Ree). Other tribes which visited the region during the pre-reservation period are the Pawnee, Shoshone, Flathead, Nez Perce and the Pend d'Oreille.

The fact that there are several omissions in this tribal list may be due to scarcity of recorded observations within the time period on tribes not included. For example, John Swanton in *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Bureau of American Ethnology, 1945) records the Kiowa as residing in Montana and Northern Wyoming prior to 1840. However, in the past I have been unable to find any primary information (other than early maps) regarding this period of Kiowa history. The same vacuum appears to shroud early Kiowa-Apache and Comanche history in Wyoming.

Of the 718 annotated entries, 126 are reports to the Congress of the United States. Although this congressional compilation would appear to be quite comprehensive, only three other federal reports are indexed to the exclusion of important Department of the Interior Census Office reports and records of the National Archives of the United States relating to American Indians. Pertinent reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology are listed under the sec-

tion titled "Ethnographic Sources." However, entries of this section are not listed in the index and readers must find them on their own. Index inaccuracies are also frustrating (example: the annotation number for Robert H. Lowie turns out to be the one for Elsie Clews Parsons).

Wyomingites will search in vain for Virginia Cole Trenholm's *The Arapahoes, Our People*, and *The Shoshonis, Sentinels of the Rockies*. MacKenzie's *Last Fight with the Cheyennes* (a primary resource report to Congress in 1890 by Capt. John Bourke) is also missing along with the *Seven Visions of Bull Lodge* (edited by George P. Horse Capture) which records the life of the Gros Ventre healer in Montana between 1802 and 1886.

A comprehensive annotated bibliography on the topic of this publication would evidently require several volumes for primary sources alone. Although several discrepancies and omissions have been noted above in this bibliography by Katherine Weist and Susan Sharrock, it provides a much needed reference for researchers of Northern Plains Indian ethnohistory.

MIKE MAYFIELD

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The Arapaho. By Alfred L. Kroeber. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983) Illus. Index. 463 pp. \$8.95 paper.

Publishers note: This volume is a photographic reprint of The Arapaho as it originally appeared in the Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, volume 18 (1902, 1904 and 1907), published in three parts.

This book may be a little "involved" for the casual reader of Indian history and culture but for the serious student of Plains Indian culture Kroeber's work is unequalled. Not only will this work stand alone but it would provide a solid base for further study. The presentation of Arapaho material culture, both descriptively and in terms of illustration, is outstanding.

Kroeber's *The Arapaho* was the first comprehensive account of this important Plains Indian Tribe and its reappearance as a Bison Book paperback will surely be welcomed by amateur and professional anthropologists alike. Kroeber was Franz Boas' first doctoral candidate in the

newly founded Columbia University Department of Anthropology when Boas sent him out to Indian Territory at the turn of the century to study the decorative art of the Arapaho for his dissertation. At that time Boas was the foremost anthropologist in the United States; he formulated a program of research and publication that was to dominate American anthropology for the next several decades. Kroeber, one of his most productive students, not only implemented that program but added to it in important ways.

Kroeber spent his first season among the Southern Arapaho in Indian Territory, the second among the Northern Arapaho of Wyoming and the third among the linguistically related Gros Ventre, or Atsina, in Montana.

At first Kroeber concentrated on decorative art and symbolism, while making a collection of material culture for the American Museum of Natural History. Soon, however, he extended his studies to other aspects of Arapaho life, particularly to ceremonial organization and religion.

Just about every aspect and object of Arapaho material culture is minutely described and illustrated and Kroeber's drawings are outstanding. For instance, there are six pages of symbolism in embroidered (in beads, porcupine quills or in fibers) and painted designs with accompanying explanations.

But material culture is not all. The work touches upon nearly every imaginable facet of Arapaho culture. Meticulous attention has been paid to ceremonies, games, religion and stories of the supernatural, tribal organization, kinship, decorative art and regalia. Plus, the articles of everyday life: clothes, pottery, utensils, tents and the all-important pipe.

In his foreword, Fred Eggan, Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, wrote: "For all of these reasons—for its description of the tribe, and for the illustrations it offers of the tools, utensils, toys, and clothing in use at the turn of the century—Kroeber's work remains an essential book on the Arapaho, as valuable to anthropologists everywhere engaged in comparative studies as to students coming fresh to the Indians of the Great Plains."

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